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A HISTORY OF EGYPT

VOL. VI.

THE MIDDLE AGES

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HISTORY OF EGYPT

IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

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WITH A MAP AND 101 ILLUSTRATIONS

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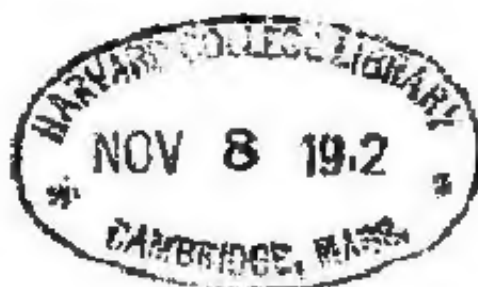
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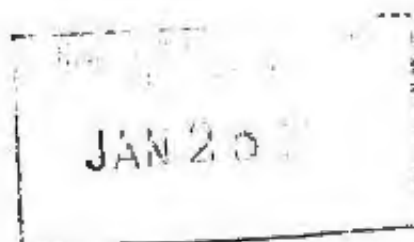
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PREFACE

IN this volume the History of Egypt in the Middle Ages, from its conquest by the Saracens in 640 to its annexation by the Ottoman Turks in 1517, is for the first time related in a continuous narrative apart from the general history of the Moḥammadan caliphate. In compressing the events of nearly nine centuries into a single volume, many interesting subjects are of necessity treated very briefly, but the list of authorities at the head of each chapter will enable the student to obtain fuller details, especially if he is acquainted with Arabic.

Besides the works thus cited, I am particularly indebted to M. Max van Berchem, not only for permission to reproduce his photographs of inscriptions, but for his invaluable assistance in preparing the lists of inscriptions which precede each chapter, for which he kindly sent me the proof-sheets of the forthcoming volume of his *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, and also notes of the Mamlūk inscriptions he had collected in Syria. I have also to thank my colleagues Professor R. H. Charles and Professor J. B. Bury for their help in reference to the Ethiopic and Byzantine sources for the history of the Arab conquest; and M. P. Casanova and M. Herz Bey for the use of some of the illustrations.

S. L.-P.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,
December 18th, 1900

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•• The coins and glass weights are reproduced from plaster casts of the originals in the British Museum; the inscriptions are from M. Max von Berchem's *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum (Mém. de la Miss. archéol. française au Caire xix., where French translations are given), except fig. 49, which is from his Inscriptions arabes de Syrie (Mém. de l'Institut Égyptien, 1897)*; figs. 47 and 67 are from M. Paul Casanova's *Hist. de la Citadelle du Caire (Mém. de la Miss. archéol. française au Caire, vi)*; the coats of arms are from Rogers Bey's article in the *Bull. de l'Inst. Égypt.* 1880, except fig. 92, which is from H. E. Artun Pasha's article on *Trois différentes armoiries du Kait Bay (ibid)*; fig. 52 is from an article by Mr H. C. Kay in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, N S, xiv (1882); figs. 11, 33, 45, and 71 are from the plates of the *Description de l'Égypte*; the rest are from photographs, of which figs. 69, 75, 89 and 94 were kindly supplied by Hera Bey, chief architect of the Commission for the Preservation of Arab Monuments in Egypt.

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Other authorities are cited in footnotes.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION.

The Arabic alphabet is thus represented. **ā** in the middle of a word by **·** (as el-Marmān), **ب** b, **ت** t, **ث** th, **ج** ġ (English **j**, but in Lower Egypt pronounced as hard **g** in "get"), **ح** h, **خ** kh, **د** d, **ذ** dh (as **th** in "thus"), **ر** r, **ز** z, **س** s, **ش** sh, **ص** s, **ض** ḍ, **ط** t, **ظ** z, **ع** ʿ, **غ** gh, **ف** f, **ق** q, **ك** k, **ل** l, **م** m, **ن** n, **ه** h, **و** w, **ي** y. The Persian **گ** is represented by **g**. The vowels and diphthongs are **ا** a or e (according to the rules of imāla), **أ** u or o, **إ** i; **آ** ā, **و** ū, **إِى** ī, **أَو** aw, **أَيْ** ey or ay. When a name is repeated the article is often omitted; as El-Hākīm and Hākīm. Ibn (son) is abbreviated as b. **D** stands for **ḍinār**, a gold coin worth about half a guinea.

CORRIGENDA

PAGE

| | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------------|
| 40 | for Ghauth | read Ghawth |
| 48 | „ Handhala | „ Hanžala |
| 76 | „ Hārūn | „ Hārūn |
| 85 | „ Ghaṭūs | Chitūs |
| 105 | „ Hīgāz | Hīgāz |
| 106 | Tyy | Tıyy |
| 111 | „ el-Yāzūrī | „ el-Yāzūrī |
| 129 | „ Ommayyad | „ Omayyad |
| 148 | „ Dāhik | „ Debik |
| 151 | „ Amīr | „ Emīr |
| 155 | „ Aydhāb | „ 'Aydhāb |
| 160 | „ Hassān | „ Ḥassān |
| 166 | „ Abū Nejāh | „ Abū Negāh |
| 166 | „ 'Abdu-el-Megid | „ 'Abd-el-Megid |
| 179 | „ Atfih | „ Aṭfih |
| 192 | „ Akaba | „ 'Aḳaba |
| 206 | „ naptha | „ naphtha |
| 299 | „ Aradus | „ Antaradus |
| 330 | „ Sarkhab | „ Sarkhad |

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

UNDER THE SARACENS

CHAPTER I

THE ARAB CONQUEST

639—641

Authorities.—John of Nikiu, Ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam, el-Bilādhurī, et Tahari. Later accounts from el-Maḡrizī, Abū-l-Mahāsin, es-Suyūṭī

MOHAMMAD, the prophet of the Arabs, died in 632. In a few years his followers overran Arabia, Syria, and Chaldaea, defeating the forces of the Emperor of Constantinople and the "Chosroes" or Sāsānian king of Persia; and in 639 the Arabs invaded Egypt. The caliph 'Omar yielded with reluctance to the urgent representations of the general, 'Amr ibn el-'Āṣī, and even stipulated that if a letter of recall should reach the army before it entered Egyptian territory, it was to march back to Medina. The letter was sent, but 'Amr contrived to cross the frontier before opening it, and thus effected his purpose. He had visited Alexandria in his youth, and had never forgotten its wealth. The expedition was arranged whilst the caliph and 'Amr⁶³⁹ were together near Damascus on their return from

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Jerusalem in the autumn of 639, and 'Amr kept the Feast of Sacrifice (10 Dhū-l-Hijja, A.H. 18, 12 Dec. 639), at el-'Arish, the frontier town of Egypt.

The invading army mustered 1500 or 2000 men, but was quickly reinforced by a second body of 4000. They were almost all horsemen, armed with lances and swords and bows. The first opposition the Saracens met was at Pelusium (el-Faramā), where the Roman¹ garrison held out for a month, until the success of the besiegers was attained partly through the aid of the Copt or native Egyptian population, who were eager to welcome any prospect of release from the oppression of the eastern empire. The schism definitely opened at the council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451 had established a sharp hostility between the national monophysite or "Jacobite" church of Egypt and the official "Chalcedonian" or "Melekite" church which the emperors of Constantinople supported in Egypt; and the Melekite persecution of the Jacobites, who formed the great bulk of the Egyptians, had alienated whatever trace of loyalty the people might have retained towards their distant sovereigns, and had prepared the way for foreign intervention. Indeed, the Persians had quite lately (626) conquered the country, and had only been ejected by the Romans a few years (626) before the Arab invasion. The Egyptians had served many foreign masters, and had suffered under all so that a change of rulers signified little, and any change from Byzantine intolerance would probably, in their eyes, be for the better. This widespread disaffection contributed to the easy triumph of the Arabs. It was first seen in the taking of Pelusium, when the patriarch, called by the Arabs "Abu-Miyamin" (possibly meaning the banished Jacobite patriarch Benjamin), advised the Copts to support the invaders.

The Romans made a second stand at Bilbeys, some thirty miles from Mīṣr, where another month was spent

¹ The term Roman is used throughout, in preference to Greek, for the east Roman or Byzantine empire. In Arabic the Byzantines are always called *as-Rūm*; in the sing. *Rūmī*.

in the siege'; and after the fall of Bilbeys, 'Amr had again to fight the Romans at Umm-Dunayn, a village or suburb which stood near the present 'Abdin quarter of Cairo. The Saracens were once more successful, but before proceeding further 'Amr appealed to the caliph for more troops, and a second reinforcement was sent, bringing the army up to 12,000 men'. Part of this force was on the west bank of the Nile, advancing upon Asvat and Behnesa, and trying to penetrate into the Fayyûm, where they were opposed by Theodosius the dux of the Thebaid, and by the general John of Mirôs; but the main body was on the east bank, posted in the neighbourhood of the city of Misr, or "Babylon of Egypt," a northern extension of the ancient Memphis'. The city was defended by a large Roman army, and guarded by a strong fortress, rebuilt by Turko in 116, the remains of

¹ The romantic legend of the defence of Julliers by Arminius, the daughter of the prefect George el Subakhia, rests only upon the authority of el-Wasiti, and cannot be accepted without reserve. It may be read in Mrs. Butler's *Story of the Church of Egypt*, i. 359, 360, or more fully in Quatremere's *Monuments and Temples of Egypt*, i. 53, 54.

² According to another tradition, es Zaheyr brought 12,000 men to reinforce 'Amr. The figures cannot be relied on, but the total force of the Arabs was evidently small.

³ Memphis itself existed, though in decay, at the time of the Arab conquest, but as it is never mentioned by the chroniclers as inhabited persons must be intended when they speak of "Misr." There is much obscurity about this city of Misr at this period, which is increased by the word Misr being used also to signify Egypt. The Arabic writers speak constantly of Babylon (Babylûn) as though it were a fortress and nothing else, and there is very late evidence for the independent existence of a city of Babylon or Misr apart from the fortress. It is only in John of Nikiu's chronicle that we find a distinction between the taking of Misr and the surrender of the fortress. In the sixth century, however, Hierocles and George the Cyprian both mention Memphis, but not Babylon; and there must have been an inhabited city representing the ancient Memphis, and probably forming a more modern and northern extension of it. One would expect to find it on the west bank of the Nile, but all the authorities concur in placing Misr on the east bank, in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Babylon. Tardif, on the other hand, seems from John of Nikiu's account to have been on the west bank. Memphis was an immense city, and may have extended, with its suburbs of Misr and Tardif, across the river as far as the fortress of Babylon.

which still stand under the name of *Karr-esh-Shema'*, "the castle of the candle." 'Amr divided his forces into three corps, one of which he posted to the north of Babylon, the second was stationed at *Tendūnās* (apparently a fortified suburb on the west bank to the south-west of Babylon), and the third withdrew northwards to Heliopolis (*On*, 'Ayn-Sheims), in the hope of tempting the Romans out of their fortifications, upon which the other two corps were to fall on their rear or flank. The manoeuvre succeeded. The Romans marched out of their fortifications, and attacked the Saracens at Heliopolis, but, being themselves taken in rear by the other divisions, were routed and driven to the Nile, where they took to their boats and fled down the river. Upon this the Muslims occupied *Tendūnās*, the garrison of which had perished in the battle, except 700 men who shut themselves up in the fort, whence they retired by boat to *Nikiu*. The taking of *Tendūnās* was evidently followed by, or synonymous with, the taking of the whole city of *Misr*, except its citadel which was blockaded, for John of Nikiu, from whose almost contemporary chronicle this account is taken, mentions no subsequent siege or conquest of the city of *Misr*, but only the later reduction of the fortress.¹ The defeat of the Romans at Heliopolis was so complete that not only *Misr*, the chief city of that part, fell into the hands of the Saracens, but even in the Fayyūm Domentianus, the praeses of Arcadia, secretly escaped from the chief town, deserted the Roman troops scattered about middle Egypt, and hurried down the Nile to *Nikiu*; whereupon the Arabs took *Medinet-el-Fayyūm*, *Asyūt*, and eventually *Behnesa*, with great slaughter.¹

¹ In the rubric of John of Nikiu's chronicle the conquest of *Misr* is carefully distinguished from the conquest of the fortress of Babylon. The former is placed in *Anno Indictionis XIV*, which corresponds to 1 Sept. 640—31 Aug. 641, and the fall of Babylon in *XV*. The latter date cannot be sustained satisfactorily, but the distinction between the two events, and the emphasis laid on the interval between them, are important. The rubric is the work of the Arabic translator, according to Dr. Zutenberg, but it may be assumed that he had earlier data to go upon, otherwise he would scarcely have used the Indiction chronology.

The Arabic accounts of the conquest of Misr conflict with each other and with that given above, in many details, but confirm the main fact of the victory at Helipous (which must have taken place before the inundation covered the land, i.e., before September), and record the subsequent occupation of Misr during the inundation. They add various stories of negotiations, and even entertainments between the Egyptians and the Arabs, which ended in a formal treaty. We read of a certain Abū-Maryam, a "catholic" (*ḡathalik*) of Misr, who joined 'Amr's army, accompanied by a bishop, and endeavoured to arrange terms. 'Amr showed them goodwill, enlarged on the friendly disposition of the late prophet Mohammd towards the Copts,¹ in virtue of their traditional kinship through Hagar the Egyptian mother of Ishmael, the ancestor of the prophet, and offered them the usual choice—to embrace Islām or to pay the special poll-tax levied by the conquerors on all non-Muslims. Abū-Maryam and the bishop were anxious that the latter alternative should be accepted, but the Roman commander "Artabon"² would not listen to it. He was killed in attempting to surprise the Saracens by a night attack; the battle of Helipolis followed; ex-Zubeyr escalated Misr and opened a gate, and the Egyptians sued for peace. The treaty ran as follows, according to the Arab tradition recorded by Tabarī: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, this is the amnesty which 'Amr ibn el-'Āṣ granted to the people of Misr, as to themselves, their religion, their goods, their churches and crosses, their lands and waters: nothing of these shall be meddled with or diminished; the Nubians shall not be permitted to dwell among them. And the people of Misr, if they enter into this treaty of peace, shall pay the *ḡaysa* (poll tax), when the inundation of their river

¹ For the traditions see Abū-Šālib, . 286, and Mr. Everett's notes and references.

Also called by the Arabs el-Manakhūr (or Manḡhūr) ibn Kurkūh and in Arabic nicknamed el-A'raḡ or el-U'eyriḡ, "the viper."

has subsided, fifty thousand thousand.¹ And each one of them is responsible for [acts of violence which] robbers among them may commit. And as for those who will not enter into this treaty the sum of the tax shall be diminished [to the rest] in proportion; but we have no responsibility towards such. If the rise of the Nile is less than usual, the tax shall be reduced in proportion to the decrease. Romans and Nubians who enter into their [the people of Misk's] covenant shall be treated in the like manner. And whoso rejects [the treaty] and chooses to go away, he is protected till he reach a place of safety or leave our kingdom. The collection of the taxes shall be by thirds, one third at each time. For [sureties for] this covenant stand the security and warranty of God, and the warranty of His Prophet, and the warranty of the caliph, the commander of the faithful, and the warranty of the believers Witnessed by ez-Zuhayr, and his sons 'Abdallāh and Mohammad, and written by Wardān." (Tabari i 2388.)

The negotiation of this treaty of peace is attributed by most Arabic historians to a certain Gurgis (or Gureyġ) or George, son of Menas, el Mukawķis, who has been magnified as the chief ruler of Egypt, and denounced as the supreme traitor to Christianity.² At first, indeed, he

¹ This is probably a slip for "pay the poll-tax (of two dinārs a head) and fifty million dirhems in land-tax (*shakar*)" for it would be the land-tax, not the poll-tax, that would be modified in proportion to the fertility dependent upon the extent of the inundation. Ibn-Khaldūn, quoting registers of the later half of the 8th c., gives the land-tax of Egypt as nearly forty four million dirhems. Abū Yūsuf (i 222) that 'Amr imposed a yearly tax of 26½ dirhems (i.e. two dinārs) on a l., but two dinārs and three *ardabs* of wheat on a l. nch man; in this way the country produced twelve million dinārs, as the population (he assumes), excluding children and aged men, was ten millions. The dinār, henceforward generally abbreviated as *D*, contained rather more gold than our half sovereign, and may be roughly called a half guinea.

² A "Mukawķis" had certainly been in communication with the Arabian prophet in 628, and had sent him two slave-girls, a white mule, a pot of Basrah honey, and other gifts; one of the eunuchs Mary the Copt, of the curly hair, became the Prophet's concubine; but since Mukawķis is stated by the Arabic writers to be only the title of the successive Roman governors of Egypt (possibly a corruption of the

opposed the Sarracens but after the fall of Misr, during which he and most of the troops are said to have retreated to the opposite island (afterwards called "the Island of the Garden," *G'énir-er-Rinja*), he opened communications with 'Amr, hoping to obtain easier terms if he could manage to conclude a treaty before the inundation subsided, which then hemmed in the Muslims, and peace was made on the basis of a poll-tax of two dinars (about a gumea) per head, excluding women and children and aged men, together with a moderate land-tax, and the obligation of three days' hospitality to Muslims—apparently a form of contribution to the keep of the Arab army. The Egyptians accepted these terms, and the Romans were given the choice of acceptance or a retreat to Alexandria.¹ When the

Greek sources, "most glowing" as suggested by Karlaček (*Mittel- und d. Südost d. Papyr. Erhebungs Reise*, I. 1-11), Mohammed's correspondence may have been a different person from the Viceroy of 640. That 'Amr had relations with a certain "George the prefect" is clear, for John of Nikiu notes that, after the conquest of Misr and the Fayyum, Abu 'Ubayd wrote to George the prefect to make a bridge over the canal of Kalyeb, "to facilitate for her conquests in the delta, and adds that "it was then that they [the Egyptians] began to accept the Muslims." This George, who may have been present at Augustamnica (Misr, *Egypt under Roman Rule*, 225), was probably George, son of Stefan, the *dux* of the Arab traditions (though they make him the governor of all Egypt, rising from Alexandria), and his assistance after the taking of Misr supplies a clue to the elaborate stories related by the Arabic chroniclers. 'Amr's orders to George imply previous relations, and as some one must have conducted the peace negotiations on the Christian side, and as I was more likely to be an Egyptian than a Roman, there is no improbability in the Arab tradition that el-Mukawkis was the negotiator.

¹ Probably it is this treaty that is referred to by Nicephorus, who says (22, ed. Bonn) that the patriarch Cyrus (perhaps the "bishop" of the Arabic traditions) was recalled to Constantinople by the emperor Heraclius, and censured for having agreed to pay tribute to the Muslims. Theophanes (318, ed. Bonn) 455 mentions a treaty, by which Cyrus agreed to pay 'Amr 120,000 *denaria*, and did pay this tribute for three years. But he seems to refer to the second treaty on the surrender of Alexandria. In the confused accounts of the Greek writers there is a prevailing idea that the patriarch agreed at an early date to pay tribute to the Arabs. See J. B. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II. 271.

emperor repudiated the treaty, the Mukawkis went to 'Amr, and said, though the Romans continued the war, he would stand by his word. He begged three things of the Arab general—that the covenant with the Egyptians should not be broken; that no peace should be made with the Romans until they were all made slaves, as they deserved, and their goods declared spoils; and that, if he died, he might be buried in the church of St. John at Alexandria. 'Amr agreed, and thenceforth most of the Egyptians, or Copts as they may now be called, abetted the Muslims in the war against the Romans, and helped in the transport and supplies.

'Amr's first proceeding after the taking of Misr was to make a bridge near the city so as to reopen communications with the west bank. The pontoon also served to arrest the procession of fugitive Romans down the river to Nikia and Alexandria. Having got his men together, and brought the detachments from the west bank across to the east, he vigorously pressed the siege of the fortress of Babylon, which at length fell, on 9 April, 641.¹

- ⁴¹ The Arabic historians relate various anecdotes of the siege of Babylon which are chiefly interesting as representing current traditions as to the impression produced by the invaders upon the Romans and Egyptians. The simplicity of manners, devoutness, and heroic courage of the Arabs are chiefly dwelt upon. For example, it is told how an Arab dismounted one day from his horse to say his appointed prayers, when a party of Romans, richly accoutred, sallied out of the fortress to surprise him. As they drew near, he interrupted his devotions, mounted his horse, and charged upon them. Taken aback by his hardihood, they took to their heels, throwing down their arms and accoutrements in their haste. The Arab took no notice of these spoils, but

¹ This date is John of Nikia's, who says it was the second day after Easter, though he gives the wrong year, XV Ind., instead of XIV (cp. Brooks, *Byz. Zitter.* IV. 440). It is confirmed by the Persian version of Tabari which places the fall of Babylon in the month Rabi' II of A. H. 23 (20 March—17 April, 641), but this is not in the Leyden edition of the Arabic text.

after chasing them into the fortress, quietly returned to the spot where he had been disturbed, and finished his prayers. Again, when the messengers from the Mukawkis, after being entertained some days in 'Amr's camp, returned to their master, he asked them to describe the Arabs. They answered, "We found a people who love death better than live, and set humility above pride, who have no desire or enjoyment in this world, who sit in the dust and eat upon their knees, but frequently and thoroughly wash all their members, and humble themselves in prayer: a people in whom the stronger can scarce be distinguished from the weaker, or the master from the slave."

When the fortress of Babylon was taken, the Arab general prepared to march north as soon as the Nile had returned to its banks. After the victory at Heliopolis, he had sent several detachments to different parts, to the Saïd (Upper Egypt) and the Fayyûm, as well as north towards Alexandria, Damietta, and Tinnis on the coast. They met with little resistance in most parts, and imposed the usual terms (poll tax and land tax) upon the submissive population; the Roman troops were concentrated in a few large cities. 'Amr himself, after establishing a strong force at Mier, and mooring a fleet of boats under the wall of the fortress, at that time washed by the Nile, marched down the east bank to engage Theodorus the augustal prefect. He found however, that the prefect and most of the Roman army had retired to Alexandria, leaving Domentianus at Nikiu, and Dares of Semennûd to guard "the two rivers." On the approach of the Arabs Domentianus fled from Nikiu and took boat for Alexandria. The Arabs then entered Nikiu unopposed on 13 May, 641 (18 Genbût, Ind. xv. [*legg* xiv.] according to John of Nikiu), and are said to have massacred all the inhabitants and perpetrated atrocious cruelty throughout the "island of Nikiu," enclosed between the arms of the Nile. From Nikiu 'Amr pressed northwards, taking Athribis and Busiris, Damis and Sakha, anxious to subdue the whole of the delta before the inundation should check

operations. He was repulsed, however, at Damietta, and finding himself impeded by the canals and arms of the river, returned to Mîr, whence he made a fresh start. Choosing this time the west bank, he marched by way of Terenuthis, fought three battles with the Romans, and reached Kirjawn, twenty miles south of Alexandria. The first attack was repulsed, but the capital was then torn by factions, "Blues" and "Greens," Byzantines and Nationals, Greeks and Copts, and was in no condition for resistance; Theodorus, the augustal prefect, was at Rhodes, and Domentianus was a poor substitute, and was at enmity with his colleague, Menas, the prefect of Lower Egypt. The distracted state of the city and the general panic alone explain the surrender of a well-fortified stronghold which could be provisioned and reinforced at will by sea.

Accordingly, when the Arabs arrived near Alexandria, they found the enemy eager to treat. The report of a man who served under 'Amr at the taking of Mîr and Alexandria has been handed down and preserved by Tabari (i. 281-2). This man, Zayd ez-Zubaydi, said that after taking Babylon the Muslim army advanced into the Rif (delta) between Mîr and Alexandria, and arrived at Belhib, where the governor of Alexandria sent to 'Amr, offering to pay the poll-tax on condition that the Roman prisoners should be surrendered. 'Amr replied that he must refer the proposal to the caliph at Medina; he wrote what the governor had said, and the letter was read to the troops. They waited at Belhib, during the armistice, till the caliph 'Omar's answer came. 'Amr read it aloud. It required the Alexandrians to pay the poll-tax; the prisoners were to be given the choice of accepting Islâm or remaining true to the religion of their own folk; if they chose Islâm, they belonged to the Muslims; if they held to their own creed, they should be sent back to Alexandria; but those prisoners who had already been sent to Arabia could not be returned. So they gave the remaining prisoners their choice, and when some chose Islâm the army shouted "*Allâhu Akbar*," "God is Most Great,"—

"it was the loudest *Te Deum* (*tekbir*)," said Ziyād, "that we had shouted since we conquered the land." The rest returned to Alexandria, and the amount of the poll tax was fixed. Thus Alexandria capitulated and the Muslims entered in.

John of Nikiu, like Ziyād, mentions no prolonged siege of Alexandria, but says that the patriarch Cyrus, who had returned from Constantinople armed with full powers to treat, went to 'Amr at Babylon¹ to propose terms of peace and offer tribute, and it was settled that the Alexandrians should pay a monthly tribute, and deliver up 150 soldiers and 50 civilians as hostages; that the Muslims should not interfere with the churches and affairs of the Christians; that the Jews (who doubtless helped to furnish the tribute money), should be allowed to remain at Alexandria and that the Muslims should hold aloof from the city for eleven months, after which the Romans would embark and leave the city, and no other Roman army would be sent to regain it. They embarked on 17 September (642), which, if the term of eleven months was strictly observed, would make the date of the treaty of capitulation October, 641.²

¹ Possibly a transcriber's error for Babilis; the two could be easily confounded in a careless Arabic MS., from which the Ethiopic version of John of Nikiu appears to have been made. But as Cyrus was back in Egypt before Kauer, 641, he might have found 'Amr at Babylon, and there begun the negotiations which were only need at Babilis.

² The received tradition, however, recorded by many of the Arab historians, is that Alexandria endured a siege of fourteen months, during which the Muslims lost more than 20,000 men; and many incidents of this siege have been handed down, some of which may really refer to the later reconquest of the city in 645. They state that at the time of the battle of Pelusium several detachments were sent to various parts of Egypt, and one went to Alexandria. There may have been a corps of observation near Alexandria for fourteen months, but the story of a siege is contradicted by Ziyād's plain tale as well as by John of Nikiu. The Arab siege material moreover, must have been extremely weak. Though they early made use of mangonels and stone-slings, these could hardly have been powerful enough to surmount the forts of Alexandria. The legends of 'Amr being made prisoner, and eluding discovery by the pretence of mind of his slave, and of his narrow escape in a bath, are improbable. What the relations were between the Muslims and the Romans during the eleven months of

The Muslim writers describe Alexandria as it was in 642 with their customary exaggeration—it had, they say, 400 theatres, 4000 public baths, &c., and its population numbered 600,000 (without reckoning women and children), of whom 200,000 were Romans, and 70,000 Jews. Of any destruction or spoliation by the Arabs there is not a word in any of the early authorities, nor, since the city capitulated on terms, was any spoliation permissible. John of Nikiu records that 'Amr levied the taxes agreed upon, but took nothing from the churches, nor wrought any deed of pillage or spoliation, but protected them throughout his government. The story of the destruction of "the Alexandrian library," and the distributing of the books to light the fires in the 4000 public baths, is found in no early record. It is not mentioned by any Greek writer, nor by John of Nikiu, Ibn-Abd-el-Hakam, or Tabari. It first appears in the thirteenth century, six hundred years after the alleged event in the works of 'Abd-el-Latif and Abû-'Frag. It is absolutely contradictory to John of Nikiu's account of 'Amr's protecting policy. The legend may have had its origin in the destruction of books of the fire-worshippers during the Arab conquest of Persia.

grace we do not know. It is recorded by John of Nikiu that the Muslims came to Alexandria to collect the poll-tax, and that disturbances ensued, which were allayed by Cyrus the patriarch—but whether, after this, the Muslims occupied Alexandria, as the Arabic historians would have us believe, or (as seems more probable) received the tax outside the city, and observed the truce, there is no evidence to show. According to a tradition repeated by several Arabic historians, Alexandria was taken by storm, but almost immediately retaken by the Romans, who were then driven out a second time, and fled by sea and land, but this may refer either to the disturbances caused by the collection of the poll tax, or to the second conquest of Alexandria from Manuel in 645. The fact, generally admitted, that the Alexandrians were allowed to pay the poll tax, instead of having all their property confiscated, is presumptive evidence of a capitulation, though some of the chroniclers explain it away as an act of grace. There was an obvious motive on the part of the Arabs to represent that Egypt was conquered *à la armée*, because a country so conquered would, according to Mohammedan law, be deprived of all rights, and be exposed to confiscations, which would not be the case if it had capitulated upon terms.

One anecdote of the alleged siege of Alexandria may be quoted as illustrating the spirit which inspired the Arab warriors. 'Amr's son 'Abdallah was severely wounded, and groaning in his pain he let the regret escape that his father would not lead his army back to peace and rest. 'Amr's reply was typical of the race. "Rest," he said, "is in front of you, not behind."

¹ The chronology of the Arab conquest of Egypt is almost hopelessly bewildering, and the difficulty is increased by the confusion here. The account given above is based chiefly upon Ibn al-Nadim and Ibn 'Abd-el-Hakam, compared with Tabari and later historians. John's chronicle, however, is obviously transposed in some of its chapters, and I have transposed chapters xxxviii to xxxcix. I am glad to mention Mr. E. A. Brooks who has carefully examined the matter in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, iv. 435-444, has arrived independently at the same conclusion with regard to this transposition. It requires the correction of the date NV. Ind. in ch. xv for the northern march to Damascus which must have been in the late spring or early summer (before the month *um*) of 641 (i.e. NV. Ind.). In the same way the NV. Ind. given in the rubric for the fall of Babylon fortress must be corrected to XIV. Such slips are not surprising in an European version translated from a genuine Arabic version of a genuine Coptic original. The one valuable date supplied by the Arabic historians is Ibn 'Abd-el-Hakam's statement that 'Amr celebrated the Feast of Sacrifice, 10 Dhul-Hijja, a.H. 18, i.e. 11 Dec., 640, at el-Arish on entering Egypt; the other dates of Arabic writers frequently conflict with each other and cannot be relied upon, but the references to the 11th month help to fix the season and order of events. The one date in John of Damascus on which there seems to be no ground for doubt is that of the death of the great king Cyrus on "25 August the Thursday before Easter," which can only be 21 March, 642. The importance of this date is that it fixes the last celebration of Easter by Cyrus (a ceremony specially described by John as Easter, 641, and makes his negotiation of the capitulation of Alexandria, for which he had been sent back by the emperor armed with full powers, fall certainly in 641, not 642. Another important indication is furnished by the Arabic historians' statement that Alexandria capitulated nine months after the death of Heraclius. His death took place on Feb. 11, 641, and the ninth month would therefore fall in October to November, which allows the stated term of eleven months before the evacuation on Sept. 17, 642. The traditional Arabic date for the capitulation, 1 Moharram, 20 a.H. (21 Dec., 640), is incredible as to the month, but the year so given by the earliest chroniclers, Ibn Is'ad and al-Wak'uf as quoted by Tabari (1874 ff.) for the conquests of Babylon and Alexandria, agrees with the data given above, and is confirmed by Ibn 'Abd-el-Hakam's statement that Alexandria fell in the eighth year

CHAPTER II

A PROVINCE OF THE CALIPHATE

641—868

Authorities.—Ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam; Abū-Sālih, Ibn-Khalikān, el-Makrīzī, Alād-Mahāsīn, es-Suyūfī.

Monuments.—Nilometer on island of er-Rāda.

Inscriptions.—Gravestones from Fustāt and Aswan in Cairo Museum, Miss. archéol. française, Egypt. Inst., and private collections at Cairo, and a few in Europe (Brit. Mus., Louvre, Vatican).

Coins.—A few of the caliphate coins struck at Mīsr (Fustāt) bear the names of governors.

Glass weights and stamps.—Many show the names of governors, treasurers, and other officials (see pp. 47—56).

- 641 THE surrender of Alexandria was the last important act in the conquest of Egypt. No serious resistance was encountered elsewhere, and the whole country from Eyla on the Red Sea to Barka on the Mediterranean, and from the first cataract of the Nile to its embouchure, became a province of the Muslim caliphate. The Arabs spread over the country during the winter of 641-2, restoring order and levying taxes, for 'Amr was not the man to keep them idle: "Go forth," he said "now that the season is gracious: when the milk curdles, and the

of the reign of 'Omar, which began in the middle of A.H. 20. The two dates, April and October, 641, for the taking of Babylon and the capitulation of Alexandria respectively, completely bear out the prevalent Arabic tradition that Babylon fell after a seven months' siege, and Alexandria after fourteen months. The siege of Babylon would thus have begun in Sept., 640, immediately after the fall of Mīsr, during the inundation, and the appearance of the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Alexandria (though not a siege) would be brought to the same month.

leaves wither and the mosquitoes multiply, come back to your tents." Even Nubia was made tributary by an expedition of 20,000 men, under 'Amr's lieutenant 'Abd-alkāh h Sa'īd. The Copts, who had aided the invaders, welcomed the change of masters, and were rewarded. 'Amr retained Menas the prefect in his government for a time, and appointed Shinnada and Philoxenos governors of the Rif and the Faryūm: all three were of course friendly with the Muslims, and exerted themselves to levy the taxes. Alexandria the monthly tribute of which was rated at 22,000 pieces of gold¹ was squeezed by Menas till it paid over 32,000. Many Egyptians became Mohammedans to escape the poll-tax; others hid themselves because they could not pay. In the country towns and villages, the conquerors mixed with the conquered, and the maidens of Sulteyy in the delta became the mothers of famous Muslims by their willing union with Arab warriors.

The capital of Egypt was no longer to be Alexandria. The great commercial emporium was liable to be cut off by the Nile inundation from land communication with Medina, then the seat of the caliphate; and the caliph 'Omar was so far from thinking of permanent colonisation, and so averse from depriving himself of the services of 'Amr's fine army, that he forbade the soldiers to acquire land and take root in Egypt, in order that they might always be ready for a fresh campaign elsewhere. Alexandria, moreover, was the symbol of Roman dominion and the tyranny of the orthodox church, and was therefore distasteful to the Copts. 'Amr was ordered by the caliph to select a more central position, and he chose the plain close to the fortress of Babylon, and not far north of the old Egyptian capital Memphis, where his camp had been pitched during the siege of Mīr. Here he

¹ Three must be solidi, represented by the Arabic *dīnār*. Beisādhuri mentions (223) that the poll-tax of Alexandria in about 730 was raised from the previous sum of 12,000 to 36,000 *D*. At the rate of two *dīnārs* a head per annum, this monthly payment implies a taxable male population not exceeding 192,000 in 'Amr's time, and 216,000 a century later.

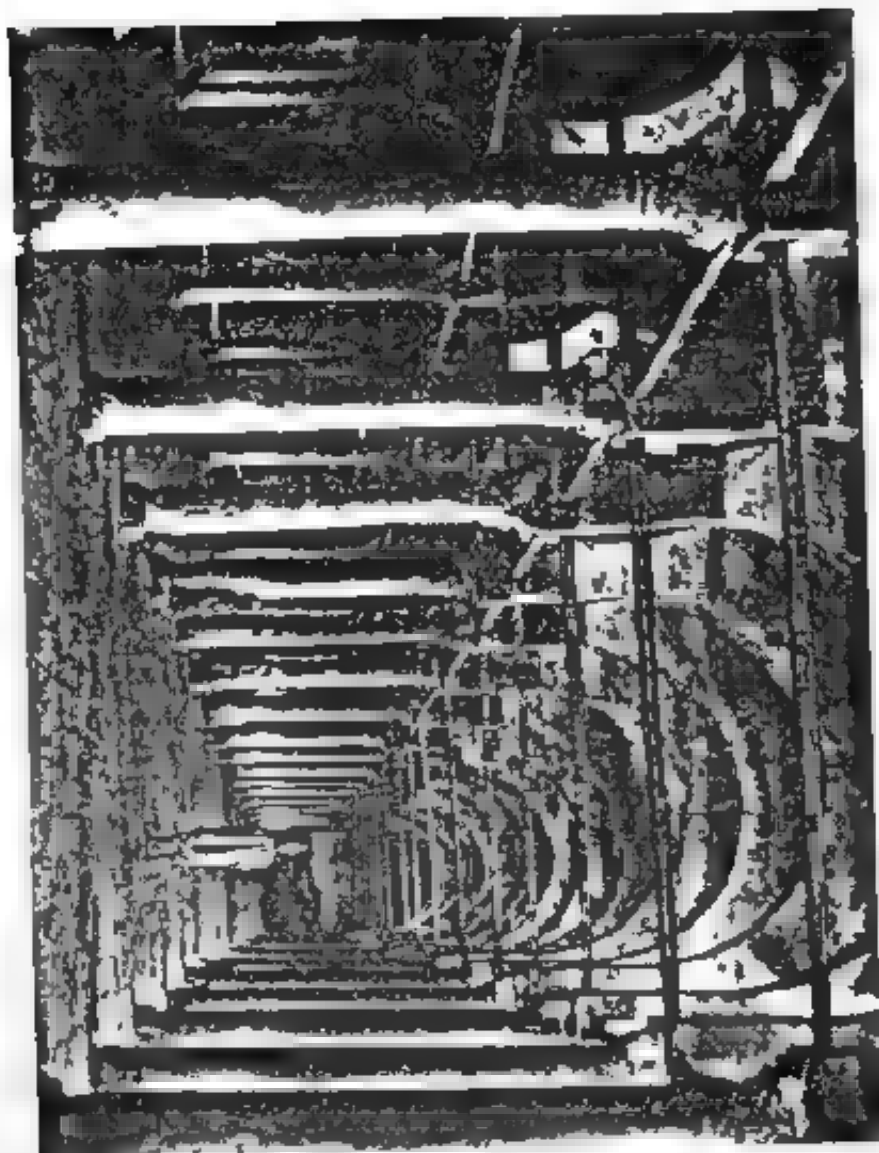


Fig. 1.—Mosque of 'Amr at Fustat.

built his mosque, which still stands, though repeatedly altered or restored;¹ and here he began the foundation of the city which he called el-Fustât, "the tent," on the spot where, according to the story, when he marched north to take Alexandria his tent had been left standing, because he would not suffer his barracks to disturb the doves which were building their nest there. Fustât remained the capital of Egypt for more than three centuries, until el Kâhira (Cairo) was founded close by in 969, and, even after that, it continued to be the commercial, as distinguished from the official, capital, until burned on the invasion of the crusading king Amalric in 1168. "The site of Fustât," says el-Masûdî (*Khatâi*, i, 286), the most learned authority on Egyptian topography, "which is now called the city of Miqr, was waste land and sown fields from the Nile to the eastern mountain called Gabel-el-Mukattam; there were no buildings there except the fortress, now called the Castle of the Candle (Kâsar-sh-Shema) and el-Mo'allaka. There the Roman governor who ruled Egypt for the Caesars used to stay when he came from Alexandria. . . . This fortress overlooked the Nile, and the boats came close up to the western gate. . . . In the neighbourhood of the fortress on the north were trees and vineyards, and this became the site of the Old Mosque [or Mosque of 'Amr]. Between the fortress and the mountain were many churches and convents of the Christians." The new

¹ Nothing of the original structure remains. It was "a simple oblong room, 28.9 metres by 17.3; the low roof, no doubt, supported by a few columns, . . . the walls probably of baked, but very possibly only unglazed, bricks, and unplastered, the floor pebbles strewn; the light probably supplied, as in the great colonnade at the present day, through square apertures in the roof. It possessed no minarets or other attractive outside feature, no niche nor any other internal decoration" (E. K. Corbet, *J A S*, N 2, xii). In this humble building the conqueror of Egypt, as the caliph's representative, led the public prayers, and preached the sermon, standing on the floor, for the caliph occupied the elevation of a pulpit. 'Amr's own house was opposite the main entrance of the mosque.

² Possibly from the candles used in the Coptic churches there. Mr. A. J. Butler suggests (*Abû-Sa'ûn*, i, 216) that the name may be a corruption of Kâsar-el-Kharrî, the "castle of Egypt."

capital spread rapidly, and soon became one of the chief cities of the Mohammadan empire.

Henceforward, for two centuries and a quarter, Egypt was but one of the provinces of the Muslim caliphate. The Arabs appear to have made no sweeping changes in its administration: they were a conspicuously adaptive folk, and were generally content to accept other people's ideas. In Egypt they found a system of government ready-made, and they adopted the plan of their Roman predecessors—a plan doubtless moulded on time-honoured precedent—with little modification.¹ The system lasted in all essentials down to the present century, and developed into a completely decentralized series of inferior governments closely related to the chief government at Fustat. The village sheykhs were subordinate to the district governors, who in turn reported to the governor-in-chief; but the central government interfered little with the district officers, or these with the peasants (*fellahin*), so long as the taxes were paid, and the whole machinery of government was directed to the end of collecting as large a revenue as possible. A special department, however, had charge of the irrigation, and appointed inspectors annually to see to the maintenance of the government dikes and dams; but the local dikes were left to the management of each separate village or town, and paid for out of the local funds. The governor was appointed by the caliph; and the governor usually appointed the three great officers of state, for war, justice, and finance—the marshal, the chief *kādi*, and the treasurer. The marshal had command of the guard, controlled the army and police, and maintained order. The *kādi* was the chief judge, he was also the controller of the mint (at least down to the 13th century), and represented religion and law; the treasurer looked to the

¹ Mr. Milne (*Egypt under Roman Rule*, 216) has shown that the *nudira*, or governors of provinces, corresponded to the *epistrategoi*, the *ma mur*, or sub-provincial governor, performed the duties of the *toparch*, and partly of the *strategos*; and the land-inspector, *khu f*, was the ancient *melageros*. The taxation, however, seems to have been much heavier under late Roman rule than under the Arabs.

collection of the taxes, and so important was his office that he was often appointed directly by the caliph, and held a position independent of the governor. It was his duty, after collecting the taxes and paying the expenses of government, to hand over the surplus to the supreme treasury of the caliph. Sometimes he farmed the revenues for a fixed payment to the caliph's treasury, and made what he could out of the taxes. Sometimes the governor combined the office of treasurer with his proper political functions. In any case, no doubt a considerable balance stuck in the pockets of the officials, and did not find its way to the caliph. The frequent changes of governors and the uncertainty of their tenure rendered some such economy almost inevitable, as is still the case in the Ottoman empire.

'Amr, from his new capital of Fustât, directed the raising of the necessary revenue. He collected one million dinârs from the poll-tax alone in the first year, four million in the second, and eight in the third year (642, 643, and 644), a progression which shows that the country was not immediately brought under financial control. The total revenue he was able to raise amounted to 12,000,000 *D*, on a population estimated by Ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam at from six to eight millions, excluding women and children. The total was probably made up of about 3,000,000 land-tax on a million and a half of cultivated acres, 8,000,000 poll-tax on four million male adults, and 1,000,000 various duties and contributions.¹

¹ It is impossible to reconcile the various estimates of the Arab historians satisfactorily. 'Amr is stated to have raised eight million dinârs from the poll-tax, which implies a taxable male population of four (not six or eight) millions. But Ya'kub places the poll-tax of Egypt in about 670 at five million dinârs, implying a population of two-and-a-half million adult males, or else a very large conversion of the Copts to Islâm in order to evade the tax, which according to all authorities was not the case. The land-tax in the latter part of the 8th c. was forty-four million dirhems (or three-and-one-third million dinârs), which tallies well enough with the fifty millions fixed by 'Amr in the treaty of 640. In the first half of the 9th c. the land-tax had increased to nearly four-and-three-quarter million *D*. El-Balâdhuri says

The policy of the caliph enjoined a generous treatment of the cultivators of the soil, and we hear of harshness only where wealthy Copts endeavoured to conceal their resources and evade the taxes; the consequence was confiscation, sometimes to a fabulous amount. 'Amr developed the productiveness of the land by irrigation, and the immemorial *corvée* system was enforced. 120,000 labourers were kept at work winter and summer in maintaining and improving the dams and canals. The old canal, traditionally called the Annis Trajanus, connecting Babylon with the Red Sea, which had long been choked up, was cleared and reopened in less than a year,¹ and corn was sent by ships to Medina, instead of by caravan as in the previous year. In spite of this efficient and prudent administration, the caliph was dissatisfied with the small revenue received from Egypt,² and reduced 'Amr to the inferior office of governor of the delta, whilst the Saïd, or Upper Egypt, was placed under the authority of 'Abdallah ibn Sa'd, who was soon afterwards (on the murder of the caliph 'Omar) appointed governor of all Egypt.

Before he left, however, 'Amr achieved another signal success. A Roman fleet of 300 sail, under Manael, an Armenian, supported by the Roman population in the delta, seized Alexandria in 645, and the Copts, dreading

that at the end of the 8th c. the total revenue was fixed at four dinars a head, but this looks like a mere combination of the two dinar tax per head and the two dinar tax per acre.

¹ In A.H. 23 (beginning in Nov., 643) according to el Kindī. It ran past Buheys to the Crocodile Lake and then down to Kulzum, the port at the head of the Red Sea. It remained open for about eighty years, after which it was neglected and again became choked up, until reopened in the caliphate of el Mahdi, c. 780. The picturesque but manuducous canal (el Khalq) flowed through Cairo for some distance to the N.E. until 1809, when it was filled up for sanitary reasons. Its connection with the Crocodile Lake had long ceased, and its place was taken by the still older Busiris or "Freshwater Canal."

² The authentic correspondence on this subject between the caliph and 'Amr is preserved in Ibn-'Abo-el-Hakam, and shows that 'Omar regarded Egypt chiefly in the light of a milch-cow, whose milk was to nourish the faithful at Medina rather than fatten the governor at Fustāt.

a restoration of the hated Melekite domination, entreated that their old champion might be sent against the enemy. 'Amr hastened with an army by land and water towards Alexandria, and encountered the Romans near Nikiu. The imperial archers covered the landing of the troops from the river, and the Arabs suffered heavy loss. Amr's horse was shot under him, and some noted warriors began to fly. At this moment a Roman captain challenged the Muslims to single combat; a champion rode out from their ranks, and both armies stood under arms while the duel was fought out. After an hour's sword-play, the Arab killed his opponent with a knife. Encouraged by this, the Muslims attacked the enemy with such fury that they broke and fled to Alexandria with the loss of their general. The spot where the victory was won was commemorated by the building of the 'Mosque of (Divine) Pity.' The walls of Alexandria were then destroyed, as 'Amr said, "so that men could go in at every side as to the house of a harlot." As a reward for this service the successful general was offered the command of the troops of Egypt, but not the governorship; he declined the honour in the pithy phrase, "I might as well hold the cow by the horns whilst another milked her."

The new governor, 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd,¹ bestirred himself to emulate the deeds of his predecessor. In 651-2 he invaded Nubia, laid siege to Dongola, battered down the Christian church with his stone slings, and compelled the blacks to sue for peace. The treaty then concluded has been preserved by Ibn-Selim, as quoted by Maḥrizi, and is a curious document:—

"In the name of God, &c.—This is a treaty granted by the emir 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abi-Sarḥ to the chief of the Nubians and to all the people of his dominions, a treaty binding on great and small among them, from the

¹ The abbreviation *b.* stands for *ibn*, "son of." The classical form of this name is 'Abdu-llāhi-ban Sa'd, but in this history the inflexional terminations are disregarded, as they are in Egyptian colloquial usage.

frontier of Aswan to the frontier of 'Alwa. 'Abdallah b. Sa'ad ordains security and peace between them and the Muslims, their neighbours in the Sand [Upper Egypt], as well as all other Muslims and their tributaries. Ye people of Nubia, ye shall dwell in safety under the safeguard of God and his apostle, Mohammod the prophet, whom God bless and save. We will not attack you, nor wage war on you, nor make incursions against you, so long as ye abide by the terms settled between us and you. When ye enter our country, it shall be but as travellers, not as settlers, and when we enter your country it shall be but as travellers not settlers. Ye shall protect those Muslims or their allies who come into your land and travel there, until they quit it. Ye shall give up the slaves of Muslims who seek refuge among you, and send them back to the country of Islam; and likewise the Muslim fugitive who is at war with the Muslims, him ye shall expel from your country to the realm of Islam; ye shall not espouse his cause nor prevent his capture. Ye shall put no obstacle in the way of a Muslim but render him aid till he quit your territory. Ye shall take care of the mosque which the Muslims have built in the outskirts of your city, and hinder none from praying there; ye shall clean it, and light it, and honour it. Every year ye shall pay 360 head of slaves to the leader of the Muslims [i.e. the caliph], of the middle class of slaves of your country, without bodily defects, males and females, but no old men nor old women nor young children. Ye shall deliver them to the governor of Aswan. No Muslim shall be bound to repulse an enemy from you or to attack him, or hinder him, from 'Alwa to Aswan. If ye harbour a Muslim slave, or kill a Muslim or an ally, or attempt to destroy the mosque which the Muslims have built in the outskirts of your city, or withhold any of the 360 head of slaves—then this promised peace and security will be withdrawn from you, and we shall revert to hostility, until God decide between us, and He is the best of umpires. For our performance of these conditions we pledge our word, in the name of God, and our compact and faith, and belief in the name

of His apostle Mohamammad, God bless and save him. And for your performance of the same ye pledge yourselves by all that ye hold most sacred in your religion, by the Messiah and by the apostles and by all whom ye revere in your creed and religion. And God is witness of these things between us and you. Written by 'Amr b. Shurahbil in Ramaḍān in the year 31." (May-June, 652 A.D.)

Before this treaty the *ḥikl*, or annual tribute of "300 head of slaves," had been paid to 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ, together with forty slaves whom he declined to accept as a present, but paid for in corn and provisions. This exchange continued for a long time. The *ḥikl* of 300 slaves was regularly paid every year to an Egyptian officer at el Kafr, five miles from Aswān, the frontier town of Egypt, and forty slaves in addition were exchanged for wheat, barley, lentils, cloth, and horses. The treaty and the slave tribute remained in force down to Mamluk times, more than six centuries later.

Three years after the Nubian campaign, a Roman fleet of 700 to 1000 sail appeared off Alexandria. The Muslims had only 200 ships to oppose the invasion, but after volleys of arrows, and when these were exhausted, of stones, they came to close quarters and fought sword to sword, till the Romans were put to flight. From the forest of rigging the engagement acquired the name of "the Battle of the Masts." Henceforth, for centuries, in spite of occasional raids by the emperors' fleets, Egypt was secure from foreign attack. Meanwhile 'Abdallah pressed the taxes, and succeeded in raising a revenue of 14,000,000 *D*. The caliph 'Othmān, at Medina, observed to 'Amr that "the camel yields more milk now." "Yes," was the reply, "but to the hurt of her young." The result, indeed, was widespread disaffection. The people rose, drove the vice-governor out of Fustāt, proclaimed the deposition of the caliph, refused to admit 'Abdallah when he returned from a journey to Palestine, and sent a force of rebels to Medina to demand the appointment of a governor of their own choice. An intercepted letter, which seemed to argue double-dealing on the caliph's

put, embittered the controversy, and the Egyptian Arabs at Medina took a leading share in the events which ended in the murder of 'Othmān. The contest over the
 69 succession to the caliphate was fought out in Egypt, as elsewhere; 'Ali, the new caliph, was strongly supported, and sent a governor to Fustat, who read his commission aloud in the mosque of 'Amr. He was removed by intrigues, and the next governor was poisoned before he even reached his seat of government. Ten thousand men, pledged to avenge the murder of 'Othmān, established themselves at Kharibā, in the Hawf (or eastern part of the delta) and defied authority. With their support, and backed by 5000 Syrian troops, joined by as many Egyptians, 'Amr, the nominee of the rival
 75 caliph Mo'āwiyā, re-entered Fustat in July, 658, after defeating the governor's army, and put an end to the authority of 'Ali in Egypt. The conqueror's second government lasted over five years, but was marked by few important events beyond a couple of expeditions against the Berbers of Libya. In view of his great services, Mo'āwiyā, first of the Omayyad caliphs of Damascus, granted him the entire revenue of Egypt, after payment of the cost of administration; and so large was the surplus that when 'Amr died, in January,
 80 664, at the age of ninety, he left seventy sacks of dinārs, each of which weighed ten bushels (two ardebbs.) At about 160 lbs. to the ardebb, this would amount to the wholly impossible amount of ten tons of gold! It is said (but in the Arab historians' qualifying phrase, "God knows best") that his sons refused to inherit their ill-gotten treasure.

A record of the several reigns of the ninety-eight governors who ruled Egypt under the successive caliphs of Medina, Damascus and Baghdād, up to the time when Ibn-Tūlūn established a practically independent dynasty in 868, would serve little purpose. The system was the same all through, but mudness and

¹ Their ejune annals may be read in F. Wustenfeld's *Die Statthalter von Aegypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, published in the *Abhandl. der Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Bd. xx., 1875.

severity alternated according to the disposition of the governor, or the character of his treasurer and other officials. Several governors are described as generous and upright, benevolent towards the people, and beloved by them. Such were commonly followed by martinetts, who restored the treasury balance by fresh exactions. Honesty was not likely to be the salient virtue among men who were liable to sudden dismissal at the caprice of a caliph; yet it is recorded of **Kays b. Sa'd** that on his demission he refused to appropriate the house he had built at **Fustat** because "it was erected with the money of the Muslims" to be the official residence of future governors. Another exceptional ruler, a "God-fearing man, just and incorruptible," used to say "When presents come in at the door, honesty flies out of the window." Yet it was



Fig 2. Glass weight
of **Osama b. Zayd**
[A.D. 720]

under this very man that **Osama b. Zayd** carried on a peculiarly oppressive policy, acting on the caliph's instructions, "Milk till the udder be dry, and let blood to the last drop." The normal taxation was not excessive; non-Muslims paid about a guinea a year in poll-tax, and the same amount per cultivated acre (*fiddān*, rather more than an English acre) in land-tax.

The taxes brought in annually from twelve to fourteen million *dirhams*; and in the first half of the 9th c. the land-tax (of two *dirhams* per acre) amounted to 4,857,000 *D.*, or about 2,500,000*l.* But in Egypt the tax-gatherer did not always content himself with the legal taxes; and apart from such extortion, there were various other duties, on trades and markets, etc., increased and varied from time to time, which swelled the revenue. The Muslim subjects moreover had to pay a tithe as poor-tax, and also a property-tax. At the beginning of the 8th c. the district officials reported the extraordinary intelligence that their treasuries were so full that they could hold no more, and the caliph gave orders that the superfluity should be expended on building mosques. Among

others the Mosque of 'Amr was restored, and it is mentioned that when the workmen turned out of an evening and went home, the governor, Kurra, had wine brought into the sacred building, and trilled all night to the strains of music—another way of disposing of the surplus. Some governors, however, rigorously suppressed all wine shops and places of public amusement.

The vast majority of the people of Egypt were of course the Christian Copts and wherever oppression existed was mainly borne by them. There is very little evidence, however, to show that they were grossly ill-treated. 'Amr, the conqueror, received an embassy of monks, who asked for a charter of their liberties and the restoration of their patriarch Benjamin; he granted the charter and invited the exiled patriarch to return. The Monks naturally favoured their Jhesu of the national or Jacobite church, rather than the orthodox church of Constantinople, which was still represented in Egypt. The governor Maslama allowed the Copts to build a church behind the bridge at Fustat, to the scandal of the faithful; and when 'Abd el-'Aziz b. Marwan removed for his health to Hulwan, near Memphis, he chose the Coptic monastery at Tamweyh on the opposite bank of the Nile as his residence,¹ and paid the monks 20,000 *D.* for it. This is worth noting, because, according to the Muslim theory Egypt was a conquered country and its inhabitants had no rights, could not own land, and were

¹ Here he is stated to have struck the first purely Arabic coin issued in Egypt in A.H. 70 (695), in accordance with the monetary reform of the caliph 'Abd el-Malik. Abū-'al-ʿAlā says (f. 526) that 'Abd el-'Aziz b. Marwan wished to make Hulwan the capital, and built several mosques there, a pavilion of glass, a Nilometer, a lake and aqueduct, and planted trees. His physicians sent him there for the alleviation of his lion-sickness (elephantiasis), on account of the sulphur springs. He also built a palace with a gilt cornice "the Golden House" at Fustat. 'Uthmān b. 'Uyūn built the first Nilometer on the island of Roda, formerly called (as *al-Ras-es-Sinā'a*, "the mand of the artisans" (boat builders), in 716, which superseded the old Nilometer of Memphis, and was still in use in 944 (Mas'ūdī, ii. 366). Another Nilometer was covered at the upper end of Roda in 861, and improved by Ibn Tulūn in 873; it measured eighteen cubits' measure, each cubit divided into twenty-four inches (Egyptian).

liable (and too often subjected) to confiscation. On the other hand, his nephew and successor, 'Abdallāh, bore heavily upon the people, forbade Christians to wear the burnus, and ordered Arabic to be used in all public documents, instead of Coptic as heretofore. Exactions, arbitrary fines, torture and vexatious passports are recorded, and a system of badges to be worn by monks, by way of licence, was devised. If a monk were found without the brand, his monastery was liable to be sacked.



Fig. 3.—Glass stamp¹ of 'Obeyd-allāh b. c. Ḥaqlāl, dated 729.

A still worse oppressor was the treasurer 'Obeyd-allāh b. el-Ḥabhab, who in 722, by the caliph's order, carried out a general destruction of the sacred pictures of the Christians. Such persecutions led to a rising of the Copts in the Hawf, between Bilbeys and Damietta, which, although suppressed for the time, broke out again and again in later years, and the imprisonment of a Coptic patriarch aroused

such indignation among his co-religionists in Nubia that the king (Cyracus) marched into Egypt at the head of 100,000 Nubians, and was only induced to return to his own country by the request of the patriarch, who was hastily liberated.

The Muslim historian Makrizi does not attempt to minimize these persecutions, and himself repeats a story of the heroism of one of the religious women who were

¹ These stamps were impressed on glass bottles by the government as guarantees of standard capacity. The glass weights were used to test the weight of the coins. The inscriptions on both usually include the name of the ruling governor or treasurer, the measure or weight indicated, a word or formula referring to the justness of the weight or measure, and occasionally the date.

dragged out of their convents by the Arab soldiers. Febronua was a virgin of such surpassing beauty that her captors could not decide who was to own her. Whilst they were consulting she offered to reveal to their leader the secret of an unguent with which her ancestors used to anoint themselves, and thereby became invulnerable. The captain of the troop agreed to let her go back to her convent if she let him prove the efficacy of the ointment upon herself. "So he went with her into the convent, and she approached the picture of the Lady, and prayed before it, and begged the Virgin to assist her to obtain deliverance." Then she anointed her neck with the oil, and one of the soldiers drew a sharp sword. "And the maiden bent her knees and displayed her neck: but they did not know that which was in her heart. Then she covered her face and said, 'If there is any strong man among you, let him strike with his sword upon my neck, and you will see the power of God in this great secret.' So the man . . . struck with all his might; and her head immediately fell from her body; for it was her purpose by this means to preserve her maidenhood, that she might appear before Christ a pure virgin, as she had been created, without earthly stain. So when the ignorant Bashmurites saw what had befallen the maiden, they knew at last what had been her intention, and they repented and were exceeding sad, and did no injury henceforth to any of those virgins, but let them go."¹

It is remarkable that in spite of such intermittent oppression and their invariable position of inferiority, and also the temptation to escape the poll-tax and all disabilities by the simple process of conversion to Islām, the Copts in general remained steadfast to their faith (they still numbered five millions about 725); inasmuch that about 732 the treasurer 'Obaydallah, finding that Islām was making no progress among them, imported 5000 Arabs of the tribe of Kays and settled them in the Haws

¹ *Ala S. 10p. 6, 84-86.* The story comes from John the Deacon.

² *El-Kaidi in Ala S. 10p. 6, 200.*

to the north-east of Fustât, where they presently formed a hot-bed of revolt. The Arab population, however, apart from this small addition, must have been considerable, though for the first century of Mohammedan rule they were almost confined to the large cities. Most governors appear to have come to Egypt escorted by an Arab army, estimated at different times at 6000, or 10,000, or even 20,000 men; and many of these soldiers



Fig. 4.—Glass weight of el-Kâsim b. 'Olayd-
allâh [730].

most probably settled in the towns, and some certainly intermarried with Copt women. These Arabs were no doubt favoured by government at the expense of the Christians; and at one time we read that 25,000 *D.* were distributed among the Muslims to pay their debts. Arab tribes from time to time migrated bodily into Egypt. Thus the tribe of e-Kenz (a branch of Rabî'a) settled chiefly

in the Sa'id in the middle of the ninth century, intermarried with the people, and became an important political factor in later insurrections in the time of the Fa'imids and of Saladin.

The governors of Egypt under the Omayyad caliphs were all Arabs, and four of them were sons or brothers



Fig. 5.—Glass weight of 'Abd-el-Melik b.
Yezid [750].

of the reigning caliphs. Two of the Omayyad caliphs themselves visited Egypt: Marwân I. in 684, to defeat the party supporting the rival caliph 'Abdallâh b. Zübeyr; and Mar-

wân II., who came there in his flight from his victorious

supplanters, the 'Abbāsids, crossed at Gīza to Fustāt, and sent troops to hold the Ša'id and Alexandria; but was pursued to the death by the 'Abbāsīd general, Šalīh b. 'Alī, who took possession of Fustāt for the new dynasty in August, 750. The partisans of the late caliph were driven out of the country, or killed at sight.

- 750 The change from the Omayyad to the 'Abbāsīd caliphs was thus effected in Egypt with little difficulty: indeed some governors who had served the old line were quite willing to accept office under the new, and other leading men of the old *régime* were taken to the caliph's court to become acclimatized. Their tenure of power, however, was even more precarious, and an 'Abbāsīd governor generally ruled only half the brief time that an Omayyad governor had kept his seat.¹ Under the new dynasty a considerable number of the governors belonged to the 'Abbāsīd family, and of the others most were Arabs; but in 850 the caliphs began to send Turks, and since then with the exception of the Fatimīd caliphs, hardly any Arabs have ever ruled in Egypt. From 834 to the independent rule of Ibn-Tūlūn in 872, the province was given in fief to one or other of the commanders of the caliphs' Turkish bodyguard, or to the caliph's son or brother; these fiefcees did not govern in person but appointed a deputy governor to do the work and pay them the surplus revenue.²

The change of dynasty was marked by a change of residence. The Omayyad governors had generally lived at Fustāt, though two had temporarily removed the seat of government to Alexandria, leaving a deputy at Fustāt. The 'Abbāsīd governors built a new official capital (a military suburb rather than a city) at a place called el-Hamrā el-Kuṣwā ("the further red way") on the plain to the north-east of Fustāt, where the soldiers of some of the

¹ Under the Omayyads there were thirty-one changes of governors in 109 years; under the 'Abbāsids, sixty-seven in 118 years.

² These fiefcees were Ashnās, 839—844; Iṭīsh, 845—849; el-Mīnasir, 850—856; el-Faḥ, 856—868; Buḥlūk, 868; Burgūḡ, 869—872; el-Buwallāḡ, 872.

Arab tribes had formerly built houses of defence, whence the place was known as el-'Askar, "the army." Šālih, the 'Abbāsid general, camped there in 750; his lieutenant, Abū-'Awn, built houses there; and el-'Askar became the official residence of the governor, his guard, and inmates.¹ Suburbs connected it with Fustāt, from which the Nile had already (by 725) retreated some little distance westward. Another palace, called the Kubbat-el-Hawā ("Dome of the Air"), was built in 800-810 by the governor Hātim on the spur of the Mukattam hills where the Citadel of Cairo now stands, and here the governors often resorted for the cool breezes.

The period of the government of Egypt under the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Baghdad was distracted by frequent insurrections. These were due less to the Copts (who joined in, rather than caused rebellion) than to the Muslims themselves. There were already serious schisms in Islam. Not to speak of the slight differences of the four orthodox schools of theology—of which the Mālikī or school founded on the teaching of the great divine Mālik, was most widely followed in Egypt from the eighth to the tenth century, though after the coming of the Imām esh-Shāfi'ī to Fustāt, at the beginning of the ninth century, the Shāfi'īs began gradually to acquire the predominance which they still enjoy in Egypt—the bitter enmity between the Shi'a and the Sunnis, between the upholders of the divine right of 'Alī's family to the caliphate and the defenders of the caliphate actually in power, already divided the Muslims. The supporters of the claim of 'Alī's descendants to the caliphate, and the Khārigīs (or "revolters"), a sect of puritans who had a large share in the downfall of 'Alī himself, were strongly represented in Egypt, and the Arab tribes who had been imported into the Hawf were continually in a state of rebellion. In 754 Abū-'Awn, Šālih's general, who had⁷⁵⁴ been campaigning against the Berbers in Barqa, was

¹ Maqr. i. 304. El-'Askar decayed after Šālih's departure, but was restored and enlarged by Muḥā b. 'Isā el-Aḥmāḥ forty years later. Cf. Lane, *Cairo fifty years ago*, 7 E.

obliged to return to put down a great rising of the Khārīgīs in Egypt,



Fig. 6 — Glass weight of Yazid b. Hatim [761].

and the result was the despatch of 3000 rebels' heads to Fustāt. In 759 there was another campaign in Barḳa, where the Khārīgīs had made

common cause with the Berbers and the supporters of the late Omayyad dynasty and the Egyptian army was defeated. The next governor, Humeyd, who brought 20,000 men with him, and was shortly further reinforced, carried on the war, and after some reverses succeeded in beating the rebels and killing the Khārīgī leader. The 'Alawīs or 'Alids, adherents of 'Alī's faction, next came on the scene, and one of the family ('Alī b. Mohammiad b. 'Abdallāh) was near becoming caliph in Egypt, till the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mansūr, after catching and killing another rebel of the family at Baḡra, adopted the determining expedient of sending the victim's head to be exposed in the mosque at Fustāt which so daunted the 'Alids that the movement collapsed. So serious was the ferment, however, that Yazid b. Hātun, the governor, forbade the annual pilgrimage to Mekka in 764. In the following year he had to suppress a Khārīgī insurrection in Abyssīna, and as a reward for his services the province of Barḳa was in 766 for the first time joined to his government of Egypt.

It was now the turn of the Copts. They had already twice risen at Semennūd in the delta, and in 767 they rebelled at Sakhā, twice defeated the governor's troops, and drove out the tax gatherers. A considerable district of Lower Egypt was in open insurrection, and was not restored to order until several years later. The result was naturally more stringent suppression and persecution. Tranquillity was restored for a while under the gentle rule of Mūsā b. Olayy, who treated the people with

benevolence, and delighted in discoursing in the mosque and reciting the prayers, for he was a noted divine. A violent alternative was supplied in 779 by Abu Salih, 779



Fig. 7.—Glass weight of Muhammad b. Sa'ad (769). He found the

known as Ibn-Mendad, the first governor who came of Turkish race, a most capable and energetic ruler, but stern and severe.

roads infested by robbers of the Kays Arabs of the Hawf, and immediately put a stop to their exploits by summary executions. It was his theory that under his sway thieving could not exist, and he therefore issued orders that all gates and house-doors, and even taverns, should be left open at night. People used to stretch nets before their open doors to keep the dogs out. He interdicted the employment of watchmen at the public baths, and announced that if anything were stolen he would replace it out of his own pocket. When any one went to the bath, he would lay down his garments in the dressing-room and call out, "O Abu-Salih, take care of my clothes!" and would then go and bathe in perfect confidence that when he came out no one would have dared to touch them. But Ibn-Mendad's severity caused more fear than it allayed, and his ridiculous sumptuary laws, prescribing special head-dresses for judges and other officials, and his constant interference, so harassed the people that his dismissal was universally applauded.

A grave political rebellion occurred in 782 in the Sa'id, 782 where Dihya b. Mus'ab, the Omayyad proclaimed himself caliph. Most of Upper Egypt joined his faction, and the government troops were repulsed. A new governor was sent out, who first mulcted his unsuccessful predecessor in the sum of 350,000 D. for his failure to suppress the revolt, and then adopted the strange method of ingratiating

his rule with the people by doubling the land-tax, and imposing fresh duties on markets and beasts of burthen. Mūsā thus made himself so generally detested that even his own soldiers deserted. The Arab tribes in the Hawf seized the opportunity to take up arms again, and the governor was defeated and killed. His successor

was not more fortunate. He failed to reduce the rebels in the Ša'id, but the campaign was memorable for a curious incident. The governor's brother chal-

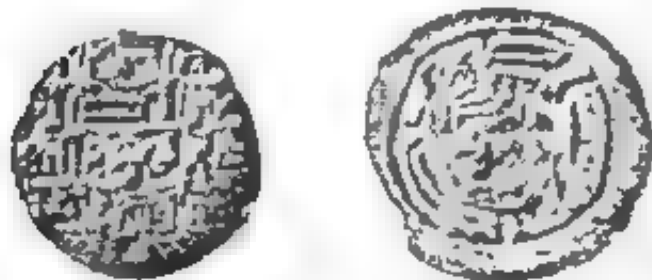


Fig. 8.—Glass weight of el-Faḍl b. Šāhīl (785).

lenged the rebel general to single combat, each ran the other through, both died, and the two armies fled from each other in panic. It was not till el-Faḍl, the son of Šāhīl, the 'Abbāsid conqueror of Egypt, took the matter in hand, that this wide-spread rebellion was put down. El-Faḍl tried no half-measures, but brought a loyal army from Šyria, which gained a series of victories in the Ša'id, and captured the pretender. Dihya was executed at Fustāt, his body crucified and his head sent to the caliph at Baghdad.

Unfortunately el-Faḍl grew so puffed up by his triumph that he had to be removed, and his nephew, who succeeded, though a just man and benevolent (save towards the Copts, whose churches he demolished), following in his ambitious steps received a similar recall from Hārūn er-Rashid. Both these men were members of the 'Abbāsid family, and were consequently disposed to cherish dreams of election to the caliphate, which was not so entailed that er-Rashid could afford to despise them. The same ambition was discovered in the next
791 governor, Mūsā b. 'Isā the 'Abbāsid, a man of great official experience, and well disposed towards the Copts, whom he allowed to rebuild their ruined churches.

When it was reported that he was harbouring designs against the caliph, Hārūn exclaimed, with his usual levity, "By Allah, I will depose him, and in his place I will set the meanest creature of my court." Just then 'Omar, the secretary of the caliph's mother, came riding on his mule. "Will you be governor of Egypt?" asked G'a'far the Parmecide. "Oh, yes," said 'Omar. No sooner said than done: 'Omar rode his mule to Busrā, followed by a single slave carrying his baggage. Entering the governor's house, he took his seat in the back row of the assembled court. Musā, not knowing him, asked his business, whereat 'Omar presented him with the caliph's despatch. On reading it Musā exclaimed, in Koranic phrase, "God curse Pharaoh, who said 'Am I not king of Egypt?'" and forthwith delivered up the government to "the meanest creature." The story is too like one of Hārūn's practical jokes to be quite disbelieved, and it is at least certain that Musā retired in 792.

During these changes of government, the Arabs of the Hawf pursued their career of insubordination. In 802 and 806 there was severe fighting; the nomads refused to pay taxes, plundered travelers, lifted cattle, and made raids into Palestine, with the support of the frontier Arabs. A treacherous decoy of some of their chiefs in 807 checked them for the moment, but the contest for the caliphate, which arose on Hārūn's death in 808, between his sons, el-Amin and el-Ma'mūn, divided the allegiance of the Egyptians, and led to fresh outbreaks in the Hawf. The two claimants appointed rival governors, and el-Amin shrewdly nominated the chief of the Kays Arabs to the office, thus securing the support of the party most disaffected to the government. El-Ma'mūn's representative was accordingly defeated and killed.

To this official recognition the Arabs of the Hawf now added a new source of strength by the arrival in Alexandria in 798 of over 15,000 Andalusians, besides women and children. These refugees had been banished from Spain by the Omayyad prince el-Hakam, in consequence of a rebellion at Cordova, which had gone near to over-

throwing his monarchy.¹ They were allowed to land, but not to enter Alexandria, and they supported themselves as best they could by sea commerce. They soon became a factor in the political situation, and having leagued themselves with the powerful Arab tribe of 1., Lakhm, seized Alexandria in 815. Here they fought and treated alternately with the government and with malcontents of the *Ḥawf*, until at last the task of suppressing the obnoxious colony was placed in the hands of a strong man. The caliph *el Mamūn* sent 'Abdallāh the son of *Tālir*, one of the most famous generals of the age, to Egypt in 816, with an army officered by trusty veterans from *Khurāsān*. A siege of fourteen days brought Alexandria to terms, in 817, and the Andalusians agreed to embark on their ships, taking every soul belonging to them free and slave, woman and child, on pain of death. They sailed away to Crete, where they settled and ruled till the eastern emperor recovered the island in 861.

2. Ibn-*Tāhir* had undertaken a difficult task. Before exiling the Andalusians he had fought the governor, 'Obeydallāh b. *es-Sarī*, who refused to accept his dismissal until Ibn-*Tāhir* had starved him out of *Fustāt*. As a last hope, he sent his besieger in the dead of night an offering of a thousand slaves and slave-girls, each carrying a thousand *dinārs* in a silk purse; but Ibn-*Tāhir* sent them back, saying "I would not accept your gifts by day, still less by night." After the surrender of *Fustāt* and the expulsion of the Andalusians from Alexandria, 3., the successful general, whom the caliph had prophetically named "Victorious" (*el-Manṣūr*), restored order throughout the country, reorganized the army, and made Egypt loyal once more. In return for his great services, the caliph allowed him to enjoy the full revenue of Egypt, amounting to 3,000,000 *D*.² He is described as a just and

¹ Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, li. 68-76; Quatremère, *Mém. sur l'Égypte*, i.

² 3,000,000 *D.* cannot be the gross revenue, but it might be the amount derived from the land-tax. But as it appears that the land-tax about this time reached the sum of 4,857,000 *D.*, it is more probable

humane governor, a man of learning, and a staunch friend to poets, of whom several were always in his train. His name has been preserved in the 'Abdallāwi melons of Egypt, a variety which he specially introduced.

The brief rest which the land enjoyed under his strong and judicious rule was broken upon his departure for his own province of Khurāsān, in the north-east of Persia. The Arabs of the Hawl speedily renewed their



Fig 9. — Dīnār (gold coin) of caliph al-Ma'mūn, struck at Bāṣrā (Fustāt), 814.

outrages, and advancing close to the capital, at Maṭariya, defeated the new governor, who burned his baggage and took refuge behind the walls of Fustāt. When al-Mo'tasim, brother of the caliph, and afterwards caliph himself,

came to the rescue with 4000 Turkish troops, he found the city blockaded by the Arabs; and though he dispersed them (829) and killed their chiefs, as soon as he had returned to Baghdad, five months later (driving a crowd of wretched barefoot prisoners before his savage troopers), the insurrection broke out afresh, and spread among the Copts; and at last the caliph resolved to go to Egypt in person.

It was the first time that an 'Abbāsid caliph had visited the Nile, the praises of which poets had constantly been dinning in his ears; and when al-Ma'mūn surveyed the view from the "Dome of the Air," he was frankly disappointed. "God curse Pharaoh," he cried, "for saying, 'Am I not king of Egypt!'"¹ If only he had seen 'Irāk and its meadows!" "Say not so," replied a divine, "for it is also written, 'We have brought to nought what Pharaoh and his folk reared and built so skilfully',² and what must have been those things which God

that the 3,000,000 *D* represents the excess of revenue over the cost of administration—the surplus (after paying the army, officials, etc.) which would in the ordinary course have been sent to the caliph.

¹ Korān, xlv. 50.

² *Ibid*, vii. 133.

destroyed, if these are but their remnants!" The caliph then disgraced the ineffective governor, beheaded a leader of the revolt, and sent an army under the Turk Afshin into the Hawf, where the rebellious Copts were massacred in cold blood, their villages burnt, and their wives and children sold as slaves. This stern repression broke the spirit of the Copts, and we hear no more of national movements. Many of them apostatized to Islām, and from this date begins the numerical preponderance of the Muslims over the Christians in Egypt, and the settlement of the Arabs in the villages and on the land, instead of as heretofore only in the great cities. Egypt now became, for the first time, an essentially Moham-madan country.

Meanwhile, the caliph had visited Alexandria and Sakhā' there is also a legend, resting on no early authority, that he attempted to open the great pyramid of G'iza in search of treasure, but gave it up on finding that his workmen could make no perceptible impression



Fig 10.—Glass weight of Ashnāṣ [834 ff].

on the vast mass.¹ After over a month's stay, el-Ma'mūn returned to Baghdad. He left the country in a state of peace, which, save for a brief outbreak among the Lakhmi Arabs of the delta, was not disturbed for many years. Whatever dissensions arose were caused by theological differences among the Muslims themselves. El-Ma'mūn's enforcement of the doctrine of the createdness of the Korān, as a test without which no kādī or judge could be en-

rolled, produced more heart-burning than the subject seems to merit. A chief kādī, who would not conform to the established doctrine, was shorn of his beard, whipped, and driven through the city on an ass. His

¹ Cf. 'Abd-el-Latīf, 176, and de Sacy's note, 219; Wüstenfeld, *Statthalter*, 43 n.

successor continued to scourge him at the rate of twenty cuts a day, till he extorted the desired *bakhshish*. Followers of the (orthodox) sects of the Hanafis and Shafis were driven out of the mosque. A suspicious slip in reading the Korān brought a flogging.

A similar system of petty interference vexed the Copts a little later. A series of new regulations of the caliph el-Mutawekkil was promulgated throughout the provinces of Egypt in 850. The Christians were ordered to wear honey-coloured clothes, with distinguishing patches, use wooden stirrups and set up wooden images of the devil or an ape or dog over their doors; the girdle, the symbol of femininity, was forbidden to women, and ordered to be worn by men; crosses must not be shown nor processional lights carried in the streets, and their graves must be indistinguishable from the earth around. They were also forbidden to ride horses. Such childish persecution could only be designed to furnish occasion for disobedience, and thus for fines and extortion.

The independent spirit of the *kādī*, who was whipped for non-compliance with superior orders, was typical of his class and office. In a period of grasping governors and extortionate treasurers, when corruption and injustice prevailed throughout the administration, the chief *kādī*, or lord chancellor and primate of Egypt, could almost always be trusted to maintain the sacred law, despite threats and bribes. The law may have been narrow, and the *kādī* a bigot, but he was at least a man of some education, trained in Mohammadan jurisprudence, and generally of high character and personal rectitude. So important was his office and so great his influence that when other ministers were changed with the rapid succession of governors, the *kādī* frequently remained in office for a series of administrations, and even when deposed he would often be restored by a later governor or caliph. Sooner than submit to any interference with his legal judgments, he would resign his post, and so beloved were many of the *kādīs* that a governor would think twice before he risked the unpopularity which

would follow any meddling with their jurisdiction. Indeed in 'Abbasid times he had scarcely the power to dismiss them, for from the time of Ibn Lahî'a, who was appointed Kâdî by the caliph el-Man'sûr in 771-2, the nomination to the office seems generally to have been made at Bagdad, and the salary fixed, if not paid by the caliph. The salary of Ibn-Lahî'a was 30 dinârs a month, but in 827 'Isâ b el-Munkadir received monthly 4000 dirhems (or 300 *D.*), and a fee of 1000 *D.* Kâdî (rhauth (†742) was a model of uprightness, and accessible to any petition, every new moon he attended public sittings with the lawyers. His successor, el-Mutaddil, also bore a very high character, and he was the first to insist on the necessary reform of keeping full records of causes. It was a laborious office, demanding besides juridical sessions the regulation of the religious festivals, keeping the calendar, often preaching in the mosque, and other duties, so that we read of several men refusing a post which taxed their energy and probity so severely. Abû-Khuzeyma accepted it only after the governor had sent for the executioner's axe and block. This kâdî had been a rope-maker, and one day when on the bench he was asked by an old acquaintance for a halter, whereupon the good man fetched one from his house, and then went on with the case before the court. The combination of extreme simplicity and benevolence with a firm and dignified maintenance of the law of Islam procured him vast popularity.

- 19 The last Arab governor of Egypt, 'Anbasa, was the best of them all—a strong, just man who held a tight hand over his officials, and showed his subjects such goodwill as they had not known before. Unostentatious, he always went on foot from the government house at el-'Askar to the mosque, strict in his religious duties, he never failed to observe the fast of Ramaḍân in all its rigour. He was not only the last governor of Arab blood; he was also the last to take his place in the mosque as leader of the prayers, which was the duty of governors in the absence of the caliph, the supreme head of religion. 'Anbasa's tenure of office was memorable

for two invasions of Egypt from opposite ends. In May, 853, whilst the governor was celebrating the Feast of Sacrifice (10th Dhū-l-Hijja) at Fustāt, for the due observance of which he had ordered up most of the troops in garrison from Damietta and Tinnis, and even from Alexandria, to take part in a grand review, the news arrived that the Romans were raiding the coast. They found Damietta deserted, and burned it, making prisoners of 600 women and children. By the time 'Anbasa reached the city they were off by sea to Tinnis, and when he pursued, they had sailed home. As a precaution against similar surprises a fort was built to guard the approach to Damietta—as the Crusaders long afterwards discovered to their cost—and Tinnis was similarly strengthened.

The other attack came from the Sūdān. In 854 the ⁴¹ Bagī people of Nubia and the eastern desert repudiated the annual tribute, consisting of four hundred male and female slaves, a number of camels, two elephants, and two giraffes, which they had been compelled to send to Egypt ever since the campaign of 632. They put to the sword the Egyptian officers and runners in the Emerald mountains, and then falling upon the Ša'id, plundered Esnē, Edfū and other places and sent the inhabitants flying north in a panic. This was a formidable affair, and 'Anbasa wrote to the caliph at Baghdad for instructions. In spite of the alarming accounts given him by several travellers as to the wildness of the country and the ferocity of the Bagīs, the caliph el-Mutawakkil decided to bring them to order. Great preparations were made in Egypt; quantities of stores, weapons, horses and camels were collected, and troops assembled, at Kuft, Esnē, Erment, Aswan, on the Nile, and Kuseyr on the Red Sea. Seven ships laden with stores sailed from Kulzum to Šanga near 'Aydhāb at that time the chief port on the African coast of the Red Sea. The marshal, Mohammad of Kumm, marched from Kūq with 7000 soldiers, crossed the desert to the emerald mines, and even approached Dongola. The news of his advance spread over the Sūdān, and 'Alī Rābī, its king, collected

a vast army to resist him. Fortunately for the Muslims these Sūdānis, instead of wearing mail, were completely naked, and armed only with short spears, whilst their camels were ill-trained and unmanageable, as is the manner of their kind. When they saw the weapons and horses of the Arabs, they understood that they would have no chance against them in a set battle; but by manoeuvring and skirmishing from place to place they hoped to wear out the enemy and exhaust their provisions. In this they had nearly succeeded, when the seven ships from Kulzum appeared off the coast. To cut off the Arabs from their supplies, the Sūdānis were forced to attack at all costs. The Arab general, however, had hung camel-bells on the necks of his horses, and let the blacks come up til they were almost at spear length; then, with a great shout of "Allāhu Akbar," he ordered a general charge, amid a deafening din of bells and drums, which so terrified the enemy's camels that they threw their riders and turned tail in a stampede. The plain was strewn with corpses, and 'Alī Bābā, who escaped, was glad to make peace and pay the arrears of tribute. The Muslim leader received him honourably, seated him on his own carpet, made him handsome presents, and induced him not only to pay a visit to Fustāt, but even to go and see the caliph at Baghdād. To the credit of the Muslims he was allowed to return in safety to his own people.'

After four years of good government and valiant service, 'Anbasā was recalled, and a series of Turkish governors misruled the country. Disliking the Arabs with the hatred of race, and supported by a decree of the caliph el-Musta'in, they favoured the Copts, restored many of their confiscated lands and possessions, and permitted the rebuilding of their churches. To the Arabs they were intolerable, and the Muslims were the victims of their eccentricities. One of them, Yazīd, entertained a strong aversion to eunuchs, and had them flogged out of the town; he also disliked the weird sound

¹ Ibn-Miskawayh, ed. de Goeje, 350 ff.

of the women's wailing at funerals, and objected to horse-racing. In his government the second Nilometer at Rôda was founded, and the charge of measuring the rise of the Nile was taken away from the Copts, who had always fulfilled it. He possessed an evil genius in his finance minister, Ibn-Mudebbir, who invented new taxes, and besides the *kharağ* (land-tax) and *Asifi* (monthly duties on shops and trades, etc.), established government monopolies in the natron mines and the fisheries, and imposed taxes on fodder and on wine-shops. The usual disturbances followed; first a rising at Alexandria, then in the Hawf, scarcely put down before another occurred at G'iza, and a fourth in the Fayyûm. The whole country fell into disorder, much bloodshed ensued, many were cast into prison, and the people were cruelly and fantastically oppressed. Women were strictly ordered to keep to their houses; they could not even visit the graves or go to the bath. Public performers and the professional keening women were imprisoned. No one might even say "In God's name" aloud in the mosque—a test point in orthodoxy—or deviate an inch from the orderly rows of the worshippers—a Turk stood by with a whip to marshal the congregation and keep the ranks, like a sergeant. A number of frivolous rules and changes in rites and customs exasperated the people. At last a Turk came who knew how to govern. His name was *Ahmed ibn Tulun*, and he and his dynasty demand a separate chapter.

The following tables give the lists of the caliphs and governors, together with the heads of the departments of war (marshal), finance (treasurer), and justice (chief *kādî*). The list of ministers is doubtless incomplete; but a good many of the gaps are explained by the fact that a governor was often his own finance minister, and sometimes marshal as well. The genealogical complication of the names is necessary for identification, and the tribal names (as el-Bageli, el-Kelbi, el-Azdi) are interesting as showing their origin. It will be noticed that there was evidently a species of official class, for the same names, or the same families, often recur, and the man who was

marshal might become in turn *kādi* or governor. Some of the governors' and treasurers' names occur on coins, and on the glass weights and stamps impressed on measures of capacity, which are apparently peculiar to Egypt, and of which many examples have been published from the British Museum, the Khedivial Library, and Dr. Fouquet's fine collection at Cairo.

GOVERNORS OF EGYPT

I. UNDER EARLY CALIPHS

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|---------------------------|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 632 Abū-Bekr 634 'Umar | | | | | |
| | 640 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī | Khārīga b. Hū- alheysa | | 'Othmān b. Keys | |
| | 644 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd | Es-Sāṭib b. Hishām | | | |
| 644 'Othmān | | " | Su'aym b. 'Īr el-Fuḡhā | " | 'Oqlā b. 'Āmir el-G'ulmī |
| 656 'Alī | 656 Keys b. Sa'd 657 & Mohammed b. Abī-Bekr [Mālik b. el-Nāṭīh el-Ashṭar] | " " " | | | |

II. UNDER OMAYYAD CALIPHS

| | | | | | |
|--------------|--|-----------------------|--|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| 661 Mo'āwiya | 658 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī <i>et al.</i> | | | Suleym b. 'Īr | Khārīga b. Hū- alheysa |
| | 664 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr 664 'Oqlā b. Abī-Suf- yān ¹ | Mo'āwiyā b. Hūleyg | | | 'Abdallāh b. Keys b. el-Hārīth |

¹ Brother of the caliph Mo'āwiya. 'Abdallāh succeeds his father 'Amr in 664 and governs Egypt till 667 (A.I.L. 47), when he was replaced by Mo'āwiya b. Hūleyg (47-50), who was followed by Maslama in 670 (50, 'Abū, li. 93, 94); thus agreeing Oqlā and 'Oqlā; Hishām and Abū-Hishām adopt

II. UNDER OMAYYAD CALIPHS (*continued*)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| 661 Mo'awya | 665 'Oqba b. 'Aunir al-G'uhani | | | | |
| | 667 Maslama b. Mu. Khalid | Es-Saib b. Hishām | | Es Saib b. Hishām | Es-Saib b. Hishām |
| 680 Yazid ['Abdallah b. Zubayr] | 682 Sa'īd b. Yazīd el-Azdi | 'Abis | | 'Abis | |
| 683 Marwān | 684 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. 'Othb. (son of) dam el Qurashī | " | | " | |
| | 685 'Abd-el-'Aziz b. Marwān ¹ | 'Amr b. Sa'īd | 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Hūgeyra el-Khawāṣṣ | ² Kasher b. en-Naḍr 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Hūgeyra | |
| 685 'Abd-el-Melik | | | | Malik b. Sharihl Yūsuf b. 'Atiya 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Mo'awya b. Hudeyā | |
| | 705 'Abdallah b. 'Abd-el-Melik ² | Yūsuf b. 'Atiya 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Mo'awya Imrān b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Shuhail | | 'Imrān b. . . . Shuraḥbīl | 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. 'Amr |

¹ Brother of the caliph 'Abd el-Melik
² Son of the caliph.

this version. Tabari, however, is singularly defective in his scanty notices of Egyptian governors, and the same remark applies to his follower, Ibn-el-Athir.

II. UNDER OMAYYAD CALIPHS (continued)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|-------------------------------|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 705 El-Welid | | | | | |
| | 709 Ḳarra b. Shauk el-'Aṣai | 'Alad el 'Alā b. Khalid | | 'Alad el-'Alā b. Khalid | |
| | 714 'Abd-el-Melik b. Raḡ'a el-Fehmī | El-Welid b. Riḡ'a | 'Osāma b. Zayd | 'Iyād b. 'Abdallāh Huḡeyra | |
| 715 Sulcymān | | | | | |
| 717 'Omar b. 'Abd-el-'Aziz | 717 Ayyūb b. Shuraḡ- bīl el-Aḡḡahī | El-Ḥasan b. Yazid | 'Iḡayḡān b. Shu- rcyā | | |
| 720 Yazid II. | 720 Bishr b. Ṣafwān el-Kellā | Shu'ayb b. el-'A- mīd | | | |
| | 721 Ḥanḡhala b. Ṣaf- wān el-Fehmī | " | 'Oḡyallāh b. el-Ḥabḡāb | 'Abḡā b. Meymūn | |
| 724 Ḥishām | 724 Muḡammad b. 'Alad el-Melik b. Marwān | Ḥaḡā b. el-Welid | " | " | |

¹ A glass stamp (for a measure of capacity) in the Fouquet Coll., with this governor's name, is published by Casanova in *Mem. de la Mus. archéol. de Sévra*, vi. p. 367.

² Glass weights of Ḳāma are in the British Museum (Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights in the B.M.*, No. 2) and Fouquet Coll. Ḳāma b. Zayd is mentioned as governing Egypt in A.H. 102 (720-1) by Ḥan-el-

Alḡir, v. 77; but other historians do not give his name in that year.

³ Glass weights of this treasurer are in B.M. and Fouquet.

⁴ Several glass weights and stamps of this treasurer in B.M. and Fouquet; one dated A.H. 111 = 729-30 (*Catal. B.M.*, p. 108).

II. UNDER OMAIYAD CALIPHS (continued)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|------------|---|---|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 724 Hishām | 724 El-Turk b. Yūnuf | Ḥaṣṣ b. el-Walid | ʿObeidallāh b. el-Ḥabbāb | Yahyā b. Maymūn | Ḥaṣṣ b. el-Walid |
| | 727 Ḥaṣṣ b. el-Walid el-Ḥadramī | | " | " | |
| | 727 ʿAbd-el-Melik b. Rāṣa <i>his</i> | | " | " | |
| | 727 El-Walid b. Rāṣa el-Fehmī | ʿAbdallāh b. Sa- meyr el-Fehmī ʿAlī-er-Rahmān a. Khālid el- Fehmī | " | " | |
| | | | " | El-Khiyār b. Klā- līd | |
| | | | Wuqayb b. el- Yahshub | Tubā b. Nemir | |
| | 735 ʿAlī-er-Rahmān b. Khālid el- Fehmī | ʿAbdallāh b. Besh- shār el-Fehmī | " | " | |
| | 737 Ḥanḍhalā b. Ṣaf- wan <i>his</i> | ʿIyādh b. Ḥayyama el-Kalbī | ʿEl-Ḥāsim b. ʿObeidallāh b. el-Ḥabbāb | " | |
| | 742 ² Ḥaṣṣ b. el-Walid <i>his</i> | ʿOḡba b. Noʿeym er Koʿeymī | | Kheyr b. Noʿeym " " | Kheyr ʿOḡba b. Noʿeym |
| | El-Walid II | | | | |

¹ Maṣr gives his date A. H. 114-116; but glass weights and stamps in the B. M. (no. 4) and Fouquet Coll. bear dates 119 and 122=737 and 740.

² Glass stamps and weights of Ḥaṣṣ have been published (B. M. *Catalogue*, and Casanova, *Collection Fouquet*).

II UNDER OMAYYAD CALIPHS (*continued*)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|----------------|--|---|----------------------------|--|---------------|
| 744 Yezid III. | | | | | |
| 744 Ibrāhīm | | | | | |
| 744 Marwān II. | | | | | |
| | 745 Ḥassān b. 'Aṭīyah et-Tuǧ̃lū | | Ḥ. Isā b. Alī-Ṭā | Kbayr b. Nu'aym | |
| | 745 Ḥa'n b. el-Walid <i>et</i> | | | " | |
| | 745 El-Hawthara b. Subeyl el-Ḥamīl | | | " | |
| | 749 El-Mughīra b. 'Ubeydallāh et- Fazārī | 'Abdallāh b. el- Mughīra | " | 'Abd-el-Rahmān Ḥassān b. 'Aṭīyah b. Ḥakīm | |
| | | 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd- el-Rahmān b. Marwān Ḥurdey | 'Abd-el-Malik b. Marwān | " | |
| | 750 ² 'Abd-el-Melik b. Marwān ¹ et- Lakhmī | Marwān b. Marwān | | " | |
| | | 'Ikrima b. 'Abdallāh | | | |

¹ Glass stamps and weights of these officials have been published (B.M. *Catalogue*, and *Catanova, Collection Fouquet*).

² Besides glass weights and stamps of 'Abd-el-Melik b. Marwān, there are coins bearing his name in the B.M.

and at Cairo; some bearing the mint names Misr and Ḥ. Fustat on opposite sides, and one Misr and Ḥ. Isken-
driya (?) (Alexandria). Lane-Poole, *Cat. Gr. Coins in
Acheson's Coll.* pp. 114, 115.

III. UNDER 'ABBĀSID CALIPHS

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|---------------|---|--|----------------------------|------------------------|---|
| 750 Es-Saifāh | 750 ¹ Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī el-' 'Abbāsī | Yezīd b. Hānī | 'Abd-er-Raḥmān b. Ḥalīf | Kheyr b. Nu'aym | |
| | 751 Abū-'Awn 'Abd- el-Melik | 'Ikrima b. 'Abd- allāh | 'Alī b. Shurabī- līl | Ghawth b. Sufeymān | 'Ikrima b. 'Abd- allāh |
| | 753 Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī bī | " | " | " | 'El-Rādī b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī |
| 754 El-Manṣūr | 754 Abū-'Awn bīr | " | " | Alī Khuzayma | |
| | 758 'Mūsā b. Ka'b al- Tammīmī | " | 'Nawfī b. el- Futāl | " | K'halīl b. Ḥalīb |
| | 759 ¹ Muḥammad b. el Ash'ath el Khu zā'ī | 'El Muḥāḡīr b. 'Othmān | " | " | |
| | | Muḥammad b. Mo'āwiya | " | " | Muḥammad b. Mo'āwiya |
| | 760 Ḥameyd b. Kaḥ- ṭaba el-Ṭā'ī | " | " | " | |
| | 762 'Yezīd b. Ḥālim el- Mudallīlī | 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd- er-Raḥmān b. Ḥameyd | Mo'āwiya b. Marwān | Ghawth Alī-Khuzayma | 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd-el-Raḥ- mān b. Ḥameyd |

¹ Glass stamps and weights of these officials have been published (B. M. *Catalogue*, and Casanova, *Collection Fouquet*).

² Yezīd b. Hānī was married to el-'Askar, 'Ikrima al-
el-Fustāt

III. UNDER 'ABBĀSID CALIPHS (*continued*)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|---------------|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| 754 El-Mansūr | 769 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd- er-Rahmān b. Mo'āwiyā b. Hudayf | | | Aluī Khuzayma | Moḥammad b. 'Abd-er-Rah- mān b. Hudayf |
| | 772 Moḥammad b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān | El-'Abbās b. 'Alī- er-Rahmān | | 'Abdallāh L. L. b. 'a | |
| | 772 Mūsā b. 'Olayy el- Ishkimi | Abū-s-Šahlā b. Ḥassān | | " | |
| 775 El Mahdi | 778 'Isā b. Luḳmān | Mūsā b. Zarīf | | " | |
| | 779 'Wādīb | Ḥāshim b. 'Alī- allāh | | " | |
| | 779 Manṣūr b. Yazīd er-Koṭeymī | 'Alī-el-'Alā b. Sā'd | | " | |
| | | 'Assāma b. 'Amr | | " | |
| | 779 'Abū-Šahlā Yahyā (Ibn-Muḥdūd) | | | " | |
| | 780 Sāḥm b. Nawāda el-Tamīmī | El-Aḥḍar Ḷ. Mar- wān | Abū-Kaṭīfā Ismā'īl | Ismā'īl b. Sumay' | |
| | 781 'Ibrāhīm b. Sālīh b. 'Alī el-'Abbāsī | Assāma b. 'Amr | | Ḥanāth " | |

¹ Glass stamps and weights of these officials have been published (B. M., *Catalogue and Collection Fouquet*).

² A coin of 'Ibrāhīm dated Mar 167=783-4 A.D. is

published (*Cat. Cairo, 863*); also a weight and stamp (B. M., *Fouquet*).

III. UNDER 'ARBĀSID CALIPHIS (continued)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|---------------|---|---|----------------------|--|-------------------------|
| 775 El-Mahdi | 784 Mūsā b. Ma'ab 785 'Assāma b. Amr | 'Assāma b. 'Amr | | Ghawth Ib. Muḥammad Fudala Abū-Jābir el-A'rag | |
| 785 El-Hādī | 785 'El-Faḍl b. Sa'īd b. Alī el-'Abbāsī | " | | | |
| 786 Er-Rashīd | 786 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. Alī el-'Abbāsī | 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Mūsā F. Hasan b. Yazīd Ismā'īl b. 'Isā | | " | |
| | 787 Mūsā b. 'Isā el- 'Abbāsī | 'Assāma b. 'Amr 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Maslama Ḥabāb b. Alān | | " | |
| | 789 Maslama b. Yahyā el-Raghib | 'Assāma b. 'Amr 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Maslama | | " | |
| | 789 Moḥammad b. Zuhayr el-Azīf | Ḥabāb b. Alān | 'Omar b. Ghay ṭan | " | |
| | 790 Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim el-Mu hallebī | 'Armmār b. Maslam | Ḥarṭūn b. Ṣāḥb | " | |
| | 791 Mūsā b. 'Isā el- 'Abbāsī <i>bris</i> | | Nasr b. Kul- thūm | El Muḥammad b. Fudala | |
| | 792 Ḥarṭūn b. Sa'īd el-'Abbāsī <i>bris</i> | Kaḥḥāl b. Yazīd | " | " | 'Assāma b. 'Amr etc. |

* Glass stamps and weights of these officials have been published in (B.M. Catalogue, and *Collection Fouquet*).

III. UNDER 'ABBĀSID CAIIPHS (continued)

| CAIIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|---------------|---|-----------------------------|-----------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| 785 Er-Rashid | 'Abdallāh b. el-Mu'ayyab | Abū-l-Mukis | | El-Mu'adḍal b. Fuḍāh Mokammad b. Masrik | |
| 793 | Isḥāk b. Suleymān b. 'Alī el-'Alāsi | Muslim b. Bakkār el-'Okeyli | | " | |
| 794 | Harthama b. A'yan | | | " | 'Aladallāh b. el-Mu'ayyab |
| 794 | 'Abd el-Malik b. Sāhib b. 'Alī el-'Alāsi (non-resident) | | | " | |
| 795 | 'Obeydallāh b. el-Mahdi el-'Alāsi | Mo'āwiyā b. Šurad | | " | " |
| 796 | Mūsā b. 'Isa el-'Alāsi <i>ter</i> | 'Ammār b. Muslim | | " | |
| 796 | 'Obeydallāh b. el-Mahdi <i>ter</i> | | | " | Dawūd b. Hu-bayth 'Awā b. Wabb |
| 797 | 'Isma'īl b. Sālīh b. 'Alī el-'Alāsi | Suleymān b. Šumma | | " | |
| 798 | Isma'īl b. 'Isa b. Mūsā el-'Alāsi | Zeyd b. 'Alad-el-'Aziz | | " | |
| 799 | El-Layḥ b. el-Faḍl | 'Alī b. el-Faḍl | Malḥū b. Sulaym | Isḥāk b. el-Furāt | 'Alī b. el-Faḍl |

¹ A weight of Isma'īl is in B.M. (Cat. 23), but of the time when he was *magister* of Egypt under the caliph el-Mahdi.

III UNDER 'ABBĀSID CALIPHS (*continued*)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|---------------|---|--|---------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 806 Er-Rashid | | | | | |
| | 803 Ahmad b. Ismā'īl b. 'Alī el-'Abbāsī | Mo'āwiya b. Šurād | | 'Abd-ar-Rahmān b. 'Atala'āh | Hasīm b. 'Abd. ullāh |
| | 805 'Obeydallāh (Im- Zeyneb) el-'Ab- bāsī | Ahmad b. Mūsā | | " | 'Abd-ar-Rah- mān b. Mūsā |
| | | Mohammad b. 'Assām | | " | Hasīm b. 'Abd. ullāh |
| | 806 El-Huseyn b. G'emāl | El-Kānī el-Hurā'i | | " | |
| | 807 Mālīk b. Dehlem el-Kellī | Mohammad b. Tulā | | " | |
| | | | | | El-Aḥ b. 'Asm |
| 809 El-Amīn | | | | | |
| | 809 El-Hasan b. et- Takhīlāh | Mohammad b. G'e'd Mohammad b. Ziyād | | " | |
| | | Šāliḥ b. 'Abd-el- kerīm | | " | 'Awf a. Wuhayl |
| | 810 Ja'īm b. Harthama b. A'yan | Suleyman b. Ghāhī 'Alī b. el-Muthanna | | " | |
| | | 'Obeydallāh et- Tarsūsī | | Xāsim el-Dickrī | |
| | 812 G'ālī b. el Ash'ath et-Tā'i | | | Hasīm b. el Dikkā | |

III. UNDER 'ABBĀSID CALIPHS (*continued*)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | VICE-GOVERNOR |
|---------------|---|--|---------|--|---------------|
| 809 El-Amin | 812 ¹ Abbad el-Balkhi | Iubeyra b. Ishaq b. Ijuleyğ | | Lahfa el-Ind- nmi | |
| 811 El-Ma'mun | 813 ² El-Muttalib el- Khuṣṣī | " | | " | |
| | 814 ³ El-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. Isā el-'Alhāsī | " | | " | |
| | 815 El-Muttalib <i>bis</i> | " | | " | |
| | 816 ⁴ Es-Sarī b. el- Hakam | Mohammad b. 'Assāwa | | " | |
| | 816 Suleyman b. Ghālib el-Bağelī | Abū Bekr b. G'u nāda | | " | |
| | 817 Es-Sarī <i>bis</i> | El-'Abbās b. Lahī'a Mohammad b. Osāma | | " | |
| | 820 ⁵ Mohammad b. es- Sarī | El-Hārith b. Zur'a Meymūn b. es-Sarī Dai-el-Mukhārīk Mohammad b. Kabīs | | Ibrāhīm b. Ishāk Ibrāhīm b. el- 'arrāh | |

¹ Gold coins of 'Abbād dated 196, 197, 198 (812-813) are in the Cairo collection.

² Gold coins of el-Muttalib dated 198, 199 (813-815), and silver of 199, are in B M and Cairo collections.

³ Gold coin of el-'Abbās, dated 198, is in Cairo coll.

⁴ Gold coins of es-Sarī dated 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, (815-820) are in the B. M., Cairo, or Artin Pasha's colls.

⁵ Gold coins of Mohammad b. es-Sarī dated 205, 206 (820-2) are in the B. M., Cairo, and Hermitage colls.

III. UNDER 'ABBASID CALIPHS (*continued*)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | FISKEE |
|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| 823 El-Ma'mūn | | | | | |
| 822 | 'Obeydallāh b. es-Sarī | 'Obeydallāh b. es-Sarī | | Ibrahim b. el-'Azzālī | |
| 826 | 'Abdallāh b. Tābir | Mu'ādh b. 'Azīz | Muhammad b. 'Oqbā | " | |
| 827 | 'Īsā b. Yazīd el-G'akūfī | 'Alḍaweyh b. G'elēla | Muhammad b. 'Isā | 'Isā b. el-Munḳadīr | El-Mo'tasim |
| 829 | 'Omeyr b. el-Welīd el-Tamīmī | el G'akūfī | Shirzād | " | |
| 829 | 'Isā b. Yazīd bīs | Muhammad b. 'Omeyr | | " | |
| 829 | El-Mo'tasim el-'Abbāsī | | | (No Ḳādī) | |
| 830 | 'Abdaweyh b. G'ebela | Ibn-'Alḍaweyh | | | |
| 831 | 'Isā b. Manṣūr | Yūnus | | | |
| 832 | El-Ma'mūn (the caliph) | | | | |
| 832 | Naṣr b. 'Abdallāh (Keydar) | Ibn-Isfendiyār | | Harūn es-Zuhri | |
| 833 | El-Mo'tasim | El Muṣaffar b. Keydar | | " | Ashnās * |
| 834 | El-Muṣaffar b. Keydar | | | | |

* Gold coins of 'Obeydallāh dated 206, 207, 208, 209, 210 (821-826) are in the B.M. and Cairo colls. * A glass weight of Ashnās, stamped by an under official in Egypt, dated 223 (838) is in B.M. (Cat. 27C).

III. UNDER ABBÄSID CALIPHS (continued)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | PIEFIELD |
|-------------------|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| 833 El-Mo'tasim | 834 Mūsā el-Hamadī | | | Hārūn ez-Zuhri | |
| | 839 Malik b. Kacyar | | | " | |
| | 841 'Alī b. Yahyā el-Armenī | | Abū 'I Wazīr | Mohammad b. 'Abd al-Layth | |
| 842 El-Wāthiq | 843 'Isā b. Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Malik | Abū-Kuteyba | | " | Kāsh |
| | 847 Hārūn b. Hārūn | | | " | |
| 847 El-Mutawakkil | 849 'Alī b. Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Rahmān | Mohammād b. Nu'aym | | " | El-Muntawir |
| | 850 Isbāk b. Yahyā (Kāsh) | El-Haggāgi | | " | |
| | 851 'Alī el-Wāhid b. Yahyā | Mohammad b. Sulaymān el-Kāshī | | El-Hārūn b. Mūsā | |
| | 852 'Abdāsa b. Isbāk | Mohammad el-Hammā | Abū 'Alī b. Kāsh | " | |
| | 855 Yezīd b. 'Abd al-Malik el-Lurkī | | Abū 'Alī b. Mūsā el-Kāshī | Beḥār b. Kūtey'ā | El-Fetḥ b. Khāsh |
| 861 El-Muntaṣir | | | | | |
| 862 El-Musta'in | | | | | |

III. UNDER 'ABBĀSID CALIPHS (*continued*)

| CALIPH | GOVERNOR | WAR | FINANCE | JUSTICE | PIEFER |
|----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|--------|
| 866 El-Mo'tezz | 867 Muzāhim b. Khā- kūn | Argūz b. Ulugh Tarkhān | Ahmad b. Mu- debbir | Bekkār b. Kuteyba | |
| | 868 Ahmad b. Muzā- kūn | | " | " | |
| | 868 Argūz Tarkhān | | " | " | Bakbak |

CHAPTER III

TĒLĒX AND IKHSHĪD

868—969

Authorities.—El-Mas'ūdī, G'emāl-ed-dīn of Aleppo, Ibn-el-Athīr, Ibn Khallikān, el-Makrīzī, Abū-l-Mahāsīn, es-Suyūtī, Ibn-Khaldūn.

Monuments.—Mosque of Ibn-Tūlūn, aqueduct south of Cairo, new Nilometer at Rōda.

Inscriptions.—Mosque, Nilometer (?), gravestones, two shop tablets of wood (see van Berchem, *Corpus inscr. arab.*).

Coin.—Vintē: Mīse (i.e. el-Fusiā), Damascus, Aleppo, Emesa, Antioch, Harrān, er-Rāḥā, Palestine (i.e. er-Ramla).

SINCE 856 the governors of Egypt had been Turks, and twenty years before that, the province had been given in fee to successive Turks at Baghdād, who appointed lieutenant-governors to administer it for them. This change from Arab to Turkish rule was part of a revolution which was felt in most parts of the caliphate, and led to the extinction of the temporal authority of the "commander of the faithful." From the time when the Arabs came in contact with the Turks on the Oxus and brought them under their rule, Turkish slaves had been highly prized in Muslim households. Their physical strength and beauty, their courage, and their fidelity had won the trust of the great emirs, and especially of the caliphs, who believed they could rely more safely upon the devotion of these purchased foreigners than upon their own jealous Arabs or the Persians among whom they dwelt and who had hitherto had a large share in the administration of the empire. The young Turkish slave who served his master well usually acquired his freedom and received valuable court appointments. "The caliphs, who were often unable to appease the turbulent spirits of the native

emirs, except by granting them special privileges and territorial rights, were gradually led into the opposite error in alienating the most powerful of their own subjects, and in giving all their confidence to these foreign slaves, who thus acquired the entire control of the interior of the palace. These illiterate and barbarous white slaves (or *mamlûks*), now incorporated into the society of the educated rulers of a great empire, soon became conversant with the law of the *Korân*. They adopted the language and religion of their masters. They studied science and politics; and when any of them became capable of undertaking the more difficult tasks or of occupying the more eminent posts in the court, they were emancipated, and appointed to the various government offices according to the talents they displayed. Thus manumitted Turks were appointed not only to the chief offices in the palace, but to the governorships of some of the most important provinces in the empire.¹ Not only so, but they were formed into a special body-guard by the caliph el-Mo'tazz, son of Hārūn er-Rashid, and from that time forward took the leading part in the setting up and putting down of the caliphs, and maintained a reign of terror in Baghdad.

Tūnūn was one of these slaves, a Turk of the Taghāzghān tribe, who was sent to Baghdad with other youths by the governor of Bukhārā as a present to the caliph el-Ma'mūn in 815, and rose to high rank at court. His son (real or adopted) Ahmad, the future ruler of Egypt, was born in September, 835, and received the usual careful education of the age, studying not merely Arabic and the *Korān*, but jurisprudence and divinity according to the teaching of the great Muslim schoolman Abū Hanīfa. Not content with the able professors of Baghdad, he visited Tarsūs several times to study under special lecturers, until he became himself an authority on points of criticism and doctrine. Along with this culture, he pursued with great industry and delight the course of

¹ E. T. Rogers, *Course of the Tūlūmī dynasty* (*Namīk Urunt* iv.) 2.

military instruction given to the young Turks at Samarra, the caliph's new residence up the Tigris. On one of his journeys from Tarsus he was able to defeat some Arab marauders and rescue a large treasure which was being brought from Constantinople to the caliph; and later he was chosen to accompany the deposed pontiff el-Musta'in in his exile at Wasit. When offered a handsome bribe to put the caliph out of the way, Ahmad indignantly refused. His loyalty brought him no disfavour among the Turks, however, and when the emir Bakkak, who had married the widow of Tulun (†854), was presented to the sif of Egypt he sent his stepson Ahmad as his representative.

Abu-l-Abbas Ahmad ibn-Tulun entered Fustat in September, 868, at the age of thirty-three. A rich friend advanced 10,000 *D.* to meet his expenses, since the new governor was apparently penniless and having held no previous appointment was quite unversed in the official methods of squeezing his subjects. He was a man of great ability, however, and a good judge of men, and he soon made his authority felt. Throughout his reign he had an able coadjutor in his secretary Ahmad of Wasit. He had to deal first with the treasurer, Ibn-Mudebbir, a crafty peculator, who had enjoyed a free hand with the revenue for some years, and kept up a state which outshone the governor's. He was always followed by a mounted escort of a hundred powerful young slaves, beautiful to behold, and dressed with elaborate finery, Persian cloaks, and silver-mounted whips. Judging the new governor by his own standard, the treasurer sent him 10,000 *D.* as a small douceur, and was surprised to find them returned. Ibn-Tulun presently informed him that instead of the money he would accept the guard, and the treasurer had to send him his escort of slaves. Finding his authority vanishing with his pomp, he appealed to the caliph to remove the imperturbable governor; but Ibn-Tulun stayed on. He had other enemies besides those of his ministry. The 'Alids rose to the west of Alexandria in 869; other 'Alids carried fire and sword through the district of Esné in the 870's. Both were put

down, not without hard fighting, and driven to the oases.

Meanwhile the nominal governor of Egypt, Ibn-Tūlūn's stepfather, was beheaded; but the appointment was fortunately given to the emir Bargūg, whose daughter was Ibn-Tūlūn's wife. The new nominee not only gave his son-in-law a free hand in Egypt,—writing simply, "Go

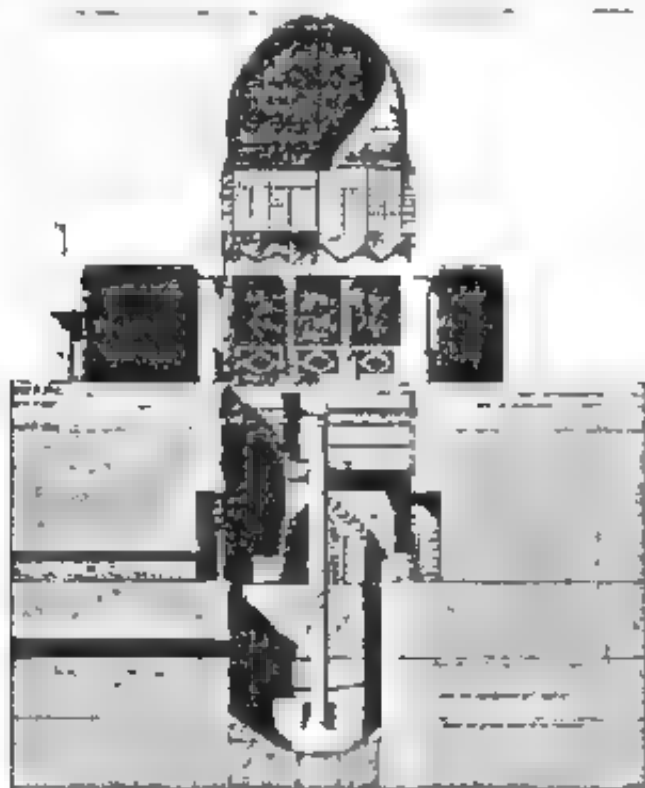


Fig. 11.—Section of Nilometer on island of Rôqla,
9th century.

your own way as you like"—but delivered into his charge the city of Alexandria and other places which had not been included in his original patent of command. Ibn-Tūlūn took over the government of the great port in 870, but wisely left the former commandant in office. His power was now so firm that when the province once

more changed its nominal head in 872, he scarcely troubled to obtain the formal ratification of the new chief, el-Muwaffak, the caliph's brother. He was accordingly summoned to appear before the caliph at his palace of Samarra on the Tigris, to give an account of his stewardship. This too obvious manoeuvre of his enemies was met very simply by sending his secretary with ample bribes and tribute money, and it ended in strengthening his position. His two chief secret opponents in Egypt were got rid of — one was so terrified by his threats that he went home and died; the other, the treasurer, Ibn-Mu'lebbir, was glad to exchange his post for the exchequer of Syria.

Ibn-Tulun now held kingly state in Egypt. The government house at el-'Askar, the official suburb of Fustat, was too small to house his numerous retinue and army. He was not content, either, with a mere governor's palace. In 870 he chose a site on the hill of Yeshkur, between Fustat and the Mukattam hills, levelled the graves of the Christian cemetery there, and founded the royal suburb of el-Katai' or "the Wards," so called because each separate class or nationality (as household servants, Greeks, Sadānis) had a distinct quarter assigned to it. The new town stretched from the present Rumeyla beside the citadel to the shrine of Zayn-el-'Abidin, and covered a square mile. The new palace was built below the old "Dome of the Air," and had a great garden and a spacious enclosed horse-course or meydān adjoining it, with mews and a menagerie; the government house was on the south of the great mosque, which still stands, and there was a private passage which led from the residence to the oratory of the emir. A separate palace held the harem, and there were magnificent baths, markets, and all apparatus of luxury. The great mosque was not begun till 876-7 and took two years in building. It is remarkable for the use (for the first time in mosques) of brick piers, instead of stone columns taken from earlier monuments, and for being the earliest dated example (the pointed arches of the second Nilometer on the island of Roda are possibly a few years earlier) of pointed



Fig. 12.—Mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun at Cairo, 877-79.

arches throughout the building,—earlier by at least two centuries than any in England. Its architect was a Copt, and was granted 100,000 *dinars* to build the mosque, and given 10,000 for himself, with a handsome allowance for life.¹ Another great work was the building by the same Coptic architect of an aqueduct to bring water to the palace from a spring in the southern desert.² Ibn-Tūlūn also dredged and cleared the canal of Alexandria, repaired the Nilometer on the island of Roda and built a fort there.

When it is noted that in 870 the treasurer sent 750,000 *D.* as tribute to the caliph, and in four years 2,500,000; that some of the new buildings at Kāṭīr³ were estimated to have cost nearly half a million, that Ibn-Tūlūn gave to the poor at least 1000 *D.* a month beyond the obligatory alms, kept open house and spent 1000 *D.* a day

¹ The story of the origin of the curious corkscrew tower or minaret, in the winding of a strip of paper round the finger, is well-known. The true original of the tower however, seems to be the similar corkscrew tower at Samarra, which Ibn-Tūlūn doubtless saw in his youth. Architects, however, throw doubts on the antiquity of Ibn-Tūlūn's minaret.

² A story is told that some objection was made to the water conveyed in this aqueduct, and Ibn-Tūlūn sent for the learned doctor Moḥammad ibn-'Abd-el-Hakīm. "I was one night in my house," he related, "when a slave of Ibn-Tūlūn's came and said, 'The emir wants thee.' I mounted my horse in a panic of terror, and the slave led me off the high road. 'Where are you taking me,' I asked. 'To the desert,' was the reply: 'the emir is there.' Convinced that my last hour was come, I said, 'God help me! I am an aged and feeble man—do you know what he wants with me.' The slave took pity on my fears and said, 'Beware of speaking disrespectfully of the aqueduct.' We went on till suddenly I saw torch-bearers in the desert, and Ibn-Tūlūn on horseback at the door of the aqueduct, with great wax candles burning before him. I forthwith dismounted and saluted, but he did not greet me in return. Then I said, 'O emir, thy messenger hath grievously flogged me, and I thirst; let me, I beg, take a drink.' The paces offered me water, but I said, 'No, I will draw for myself.' I drew water while he looked on, and drank all I thought I should have borne. At last I said, 'O emir, God quench thy thirst at the rivers of Paradise' for I have drunk my fill, and know not which to praise most, the excellence of this cool, sweet, clear water, or the delicious smell of the aqueduct." "Let him retire," said Ibn-Tūlūn, and the slave whispered, 'Thou hast hit the mark.' " (Nakīd, *Adīfat*)

on his table, was lavish to learned men, had a large army and a numerous household to pay, and costly forts to maintain on the frontier, it is incredible that he could have met all his expenses on the revenue of 4,300,000*D.* a year;¹ and the legend that he paid for his mosque with treasure which he dug up is natural enough. It is more than probable that he assailed the Coptic patriarch now and then in heavy lines, as the Christian writers allege, though he did not extort unjust taxes from the Coptic population, who enjoyed a rare immunity from persecution during his reign. The constantly increasing expenditure, however, led to the discontinuance of the annual surplus to the caliph's brother. El-Mawaffak prepared an army to depose the too powerful viceroy, but it came to naught; the army got no further than Raqqa, where it stopped for lack of funds. Nor did two rebellions in the Haid and in Danka succeed any better.

- 270 encouraged by this immunity, Ibn-Tulun extended his borders. He had before this been on the point of occupying Syria at the caliph's desire, and though another governor was afterwards appointed, he held that he had a prior claim to the province. On the death of this governor, Mâgûr, who had proved a formidable and jealous obstacle to his advance, Ibn-Tulun set aside the title of the son who had been appointed in Mâgûr's place, and throwing off all semblance of obedience to the caliph, 673 marched in April, 878, to Damascus and received the immediate homage of the officials and inhabitants. Thence he made a progress through Syria, accepting the allegiance of the chief towns, as far as Tarsûs, the scene of his early studies. Only Antioch resisted, under Simâ the Long, and after a bombardment by mangonels, aided by treason within, was stormed and sacked in September. Mâpisa and Adhiana were next occupied, but Tarsûs for the moment defied his attack. His dominions now stretched from the Euphrates and the frontier of the

¹ G'emâ' ed-dîn, who gives these details, only mentions the *âharâj* or land-tax, which (he says) rose from 800,000 under Ibn-Mudabbir to 4,300,000 under Ibn-Tulun. To this must apparently be added the poll-tax on non-Muslims, and other duties and contributions.

Byzantine empire to Barka on the Mediterranean, and Aswān at the first cataract of the Nile.¹ Leaving strong detachments at Raḥḥa, Ḥarrān and Damascus, to hold his new possession, and carrying away 600,000 *D.* which he



Fig 13.—Founder's inscription in mosque of Ibn-Ṭūlūn, 879.

extorted from his old enemy Ibn-Mudebbir, the treasurer of Syria, he hastened back to Egypt, after just a year's

¹ Ibn-Ṭūlūn first began to put his name on his coinage after this campaign. Hitherto the coins struck by him in Egypt bore only the name of the reigning caliph; but in A.H. 266 (879-880) the dinārs of Mīsr present the name of Ahmad ibn Ṭūlūn as well as the caliph's. He never omitted the caliph's name, but he did not add (as governors of other provinces did) the name of the regent el Muwaffak. His coins were issued at Mīsr in A.H. 266, 267, 268, 269, 270 (the year of his death); at-Rāfiḥa, 267, 268, 270; Damascus, 270.

absence, to deal with his eldest son, el-'Abbās, who had taken advantage of his temporary elevation to the office of vice-governor to throw off the paternal authority. On his father's approach, however, he lost courage, and carrying off all the treasure and war material he could lay hands on, retreated with 800 horse and 10,000 of his father's famous black infantry to Barka. His father tried persuasion, and sent the ḫadi Bekkār to reason with him, in vain; the fatuous young man refused all offers, and dreamed of a North African kingdom. He even laid siege to Tripolis, and plundered Lebaa, until driven off with heavy loss by the Aghlabid prince of Tūnis. After eluding his pursuers for two years, he was at length defeated and captured by his father's troops, and brought to Fustāt, where he witnessed (some say he was forced to take part in) the torture and execution of his fellow-rebels, received a hundred stripes himself, and spent the rest of his life in captivity.

The breach between Ibn-Tūlūn and his nominal superior el-Muwaffak, the caliph's brother, was widened

when the latter trafficked with the loyalty of Lu'lu, the commander of the Egyptian detachment on the frontier at Raḫka.¹ Lu'lu went over with all his army to the enemy, and even drove Ibn-



Fig 14.—Dīnār of Ahmad ibn-Tūlūn, MSr, 581.

Tūlūn's representative Ibn-Ṣafwān, out of Ḳarkisiyā, on the Euphrates. El-Muwaffak was far the most powerful prince in Mesopotamia, and he made his power felt so

¹ A dīnār struck at er-Rāḫka (a suburb of er-Raḫka) in A.H. 268 (881-2) bears the name of Lu'lu beneath that of Ahmad ibn Tūlūn (Lane-Poole, *Cat. Carr's Collection*, no. 905). In the following year Lu'lu threw over Ibn Tūlūn and joined el-Muwaffak's party. In 270 a Rāḫka dīnār appeared with Ibn-Tūlūn's name, but without Lu'lu's (Lavois, *Cat. Monn. Or., Egypte*, no. 3).

disagreeably to his brother, el-Mo'tamid, that in 882 the helpless caliph attempted to escape to Ibn-Tūlūn, who had offered him protection, partly, no doubt, with a view to saving the annual tribute, and partly to diminish the influence of Muwaffak. The presence of the caliph under his wing at Misr would, no doubt, have increased the ambitious governor's prestige, and might have changed to some extent the future both of the caliphate and of Egypt; but the fugitive was unhappily caught on his way, and taken back to Samarrā. An attempt of Ibn-Tūlūn's to get possession of the holy city of Mekka, for his greater glory, was also frustrated. His troops were driven out, and he was publicly cursed in the sacred mosque.

These repulses only exasperated the governor of Egypt, and he showed his resentment by cutting the name of the regent Muwaffak out of the Friday bidding-prayer which (with the courage) in Mohammedan countries forms the official act of homage to the sovereign powers. He even assembled a meeting of kādīs and lawyers at Damascus, who proclaimed the deposition of the regent and his exclusion from the succession, on the ground of his ill-treatment of his brother the caliph. Bekkār, who had been kādī of Egypt for more than twenty years, and was distinguished for his scrupulous conscientiousness, refused to sign the declaration, of which both the grounds and legality were doubtful; he was accordingly thrown into prison, where he languished till his death, still holding his dignified office, and teaching students from the window of the gaol. The only result of these futile proceedings was that the caliph was forced by his imperious brother to order Ibn-Tūlūn to be cursed from the pulpit in every mosque in his dominions. There can be little doubt that if el-Muwaffak had not been taxed to the utmost in dealing with a serious revolt of the Zeng or East African slaves who had settled in lower Mesopotamia, Ibn-Tūlūn's effrontery would have been more severely punished.

He had better fortune on the north-west border, where his friendly relations with the emperor had been changed

to hostility, and Khalaf, his lieutenant at Tarsûs, had (881) led a successful raid and returned with much booty. Again, in 883, the Romans under Kesta Stypiotes suffered a disastrous defeat at Chrysobullon¹ near Tarsûs at the hands of Ibn-Tulûn's forces, in which at least 60,000 Christians are said to have fallen, and valuable spoils of gold and silver, jewelled crucifixes, sacred vessels, and vestments, besides 15,000 horses, were taken. The eunuch who had commanded the victorious army was so elated that he threw off his master's yoke, and Ibn-Tulûn was obliged to march in person to vindicate his authority. It was a severe winter, and his opponent dammed the river, flooded the country, and nearly drowned the besieging army at Adhama. Ibn-Tulûn was forced to retire to Antioch, where a copious indulgence in buffalo milk, following upon the exposure



Fig 15.—Title-deed (on wood) to a shop, 882.

and privations of the campaign, brought on a dysentery. He was carried in a litter to Fustât, where he grew worse. In sickness the fierce emir was a terror to his doctors. He refused to follow their orders, flouted their prescribed diet, and when he found himself still sinking, he had their heads chopped off, or flogged them till they died. In vain Muslims, Jews, and Christians offered up public prayers for his recovery. Korân and Tora and Gospel could not save him; and he died in May, 884, before he had reached the age of fifty.

Ahmad ibn-Tulûn is described by Ibn-Khalikân, who

¹ Theophanis Contin., pp. 286-8 (ed. Bonn); George the Monk, p. 847 (ed. Bonn).

used the almost contemporary biography of Ibn-ed-Dāyā, as "a generous prince, just, brave, and pious; an able ruler, an unerring judge of character. He directed in person all public affairs, re-peopled the provinces, and inquired diligently into the condition of his subjects. He admired men of learning, and kept every day an open table for his friends and the public. A monthly sum of 1000 *D* was expended by him in alms, and when one of his officials consulted him as to giving relief to a woman who wore a good veil and a gold ring, yet asked for charity, he answered, 'Give to every one who holds out the hand to you.' But with all these virtues he was too hasty with the sword, and it is related that 18,000 persons were put to death by him or died in his prisons. He knew the Korān by heart, and had a beautiful voice; none recited it more diligently than he." In spite of the necessity of a large revenue to furnish the means for his grandiose plans and magnificent buildings, and his extravagant court, so far from raising the taxes, he abolished Ibn-Mudebbir's new imposts, and encouraged peasant proprietorship and security of tenure, to use modern terms, so that his revenue was due more to better cultivation than to extortion. He left ten million dinārs in his treasury, from seven to ten thousand mounted manilūks, twenty-four thousand slaves of the bodyguard, a stud of three hundred horses, thousands of mules, asses, and camels, and a hundred ships of war. He was at least the first Muslim, since the Arab conquest, who revived the power of Egypt and beautified her capital.

Abu-l-G'eysh Khumārawayh,¹ the second of Ahmad's seventeen sons (he had besides sixteen daughters), succeeded his father. The eldest son was still expiating his rebellion in prison, where his wardens now made an

¹ Khumārawayh's coinage, almost entirely of gold like the rest of the Tulūnid coinage, was issued at A. H. 271 (884 5 A. D.) consecutively every year to 282 (895 6); at RĪSĪĀ, 270, 271, 275, 276, 278, 279; Damascus, 272, 275, 276, 277, 281; Emesa (Hama), 274; Hama, 276; Antioch, 276, 278, 279; Aleppo, 281; Bāḡlīs (Palmyra, i.e. cr-Ramla), 277, 278.

end of him, to save disputes. A youth of only twenty years, with a decided taste for self-indulgence, and no experience of either war or government, Khumārawayh seemed marked out as the prey of craftier heads; and it needed one or two sharp lessons to rouse him to the degree of energy necessary for the preservation of his realm. It says much for his character that he was able to recover from his first humiliations, and not only to maintain but extend his inheritance. Two formidable antagonists, the Turkish governors of Mosul and Anbar, on the Tigris and Euphrates, combined with the warden of Damascus to overthrow the supremacy of Egypt in Syria, and restore Khumārawayh's Asiatic possessions to the caliph, or rather to his active brother Muwaffak. They had a fair pretext, since Khumārawayh had no official title to the government of Egypt, whilst the governor of Mosul, Ishāk ibn Kuncagiz, had received the caliph's diploma for it. There was no hereditary title at that date. They occupied Syria, supported by Muwaffak's son, Abū-l-'Abbās, who entered Damascus in February, 884. Khumārawayh had already sent troops by land and sea to oppose them, and an Egyptian force had been blockaded and defeated at Sheykar, on the Orontes. He then led a fresh army of 70,000 men into Palestine, which encountered a small force of the enemy under Abū-l-'Abbās at et-Tawāhīn, "The Mills," on the Abū-Butrus river, near Ramla. Unhappily, Khumārawayh, who had never before seen a pitched battle, was seized with panic, and fled pell-mell to Egypt, followed by the greater part of his army. Only the reserve stood firm, under Sa'd el A'sar, and whilst their prince and comrades were vying with each other who should first reach safety at Mīsr, this sturdy remnant fell upon the enemy, who were busily engaged in plundering the Egyptian camp, and utterly routed them. Sa'd searched in vain for his master, whose disgraceful flight was hardly credited, and then marched on Damascus, and from the recovered capital of Syria sent a despatch to his trembling sovereign announcing the unexpected news of a brilliant victory. As Khumārawayh stayed idly in Egypt for a

whole year—a year marked by a violent earthquake, which shook down houses, damaged the mosque of 'Amr, and killed a thousand people in Fustāṭ in a single day—the impression of his cowardliness was confirmed, and Sa'd, at Damascus, declined to serve such a master. On his declaration of independence, Khumāraweyh set out again, gained a decisive victory over his rebellious subject, and entered Damascus in June, 886. Continuing his march, he met the governor of Mōsil, Ibn-Kundāḡik, in pitched battle, and checking a retreat with much personal bravery, drove the enemy in confusion as far as Samarrā on the Tigris. Having vindicated his character as a general, he concluded peace with Muwaffak, and a diploma, signed by the caliph and his brother, and by the heir to the caliphate, was sent assigning him the governments of Egypt, Syria, and the Roman marches, for thirty years.

Inspired by his successes, Khumāraweyh accepted an appeal to interfere in a contest then in progress between Ibn-Abi-Sāḡ, the governor of Anbār, and his former ally, Ibn-Kundāḡik, and the result of a campaign in Mesopotamia was the capture of Raḡḡa,¹ and the recognition of the prince of Egypt as regent and governor of Mōsil and Mesopotamia in the public prayers. His new vassal, Ibn-Abi-Sāḡ, however, proving fickle, invaded Syria, and Khumāraweyh once more displayed his generalship by defeating him in May, 888, near Damascus, and pursuing him as far as Beled on the Tigris, on the bank of which the conqueror built a lofty throne to sit in triumph. The war of the emirs kept him in Mesopotamia and Syria for more than a year. One result of his enhanced reputation was the adhesion of Yāzmān, or Bazmāz, the eunuch governor of Tarsūs, who had repudiated the authority of the Tūlūnids since 883, but now signified his homage with presents of 30,000 *D.*, 1000 robes, and arms, and followed them up

¹ Coins of er-Raḡḡa (i.e. Raḡḡa) of A.H. 273 and 275 bear the name of Khumāraweyh, but one of 274 (A.D. 887-8) omits his name. This was doubtless struck during Ibn-Kundāḡik's occupation of Raḡḡa.

with 50,000 *D.* more. Several raids were made from Tarsūs into Roman territory in 891-4.

The death of Muwaffak in 891, followed by that of Ibn-Kundāgik, and of the caliph Mo'tamid in 892, led to a closer understanding between Egypt and Baghdad. The former diploma was renewed for thirty years, and Khumārawayh offered to marry his daughter Kātr-en-Nedī ("Dewdrop") to the caliph's son. El-Mo'taḍid, however, preferred to wed her himself. The bride was hardly ten years old, but the wedding was postponed till 895, when she was nearly twelve. An exchange of costly presents preceded the marriage; the caliph's *dot* included a million dirhems, rare perfumes from China and India, and various precious things; the bride was carried on a litter from Egypt to Mesopotamia, and at every night's halt she found a palace built ready for her with every possible luxury prepared. Her portion included 4000 jewelled waistbands, ten coffers of jewels, and a thousand gold mortars for pounding the perfumes for her elaborate toilette. This aristocratic alliance cost Khumārawayh a million dinars; but in return his dominion was once more confirmed from Hit on the Euphrates to Barija on the Mediterranean, and his annual tribute to the caliph was fixed at 300,000 *D.* The yearly pay of his troops in Egypt amounted to 900,000 *D.*; and his kitchen alone cost him 23,000 *D.* a month. The caliph viewed with satisfaction the impoverishment of his formidable vassal, whose extravagance increased with every year. The passion which Ibn-Tūlūn had shown for splendid building was fully shared by his son, who enlarged the palace in Kāṭāṭ, and converted the Meydān into a garden stocked with all kinds of sweet-smelling flowers, planted in the form of sentences and other designs, with rare trees, and date palms set with gilded tanks of water. An aviary was filled with beautiful birds. His "golden-house" was adorned with painted images of himself and his wives and singers, despite the Muslim prejudice against portraiture. And to soothe his restless nights an air-bed

was laid upon a lake of quicksilver,¹ nearly a hundred feet square (*sur* /), and rocked very agreeably, moored by silken cords to silver columns. A tame lion from his menagerie guarded his master whilst he slept.

Neither the lion nor his bodyguard of vigorous young Arabs from the truculent Hawf could save the voluptuous prince from the jealousies of his harim. Early in 806 ²⁴ some domestic intrigue ended in his being murdered by his slaves whilst on a visit to Damascus. His murderers were crucified, and, amid loud lamentations his body was buried beside his father's, not far from his stately palace, under Mount Mukattam. Seven Korān readers were engaged in reciting the sacred book at the tomb of Ibn-Tū'ūn, and when the bearers brought the body of Khumarawayh and began to lower it into the grave they happened to be chanting the verse, "Seize him and hurl him into the fire of hell" (Kor. xlv. 47).

His eldest son, Abū-l-'Asākir G'eysh,² who succeeded him, was a boy of fourteen, utterly incapable of taking a serious view of his position, and wrapped up in the pleasures and follies of his age. Syria and the northern frontier disowned his authority, the army and government were neglected, the treasury empty; and after murdering three of his uncles the young savage was himself assassinated by his troops, after a few months' abuse of power. His last public act was to throw two of his murdered uncles' heads to the mutineers, crying, "There are your emirs for you!" His younger brother, Abū-Muṣā Hārūn,³ was now set on the throne with Ibn-Abālī, the major domo, as regent; but the prince was as careless and incapable as his brother, and the regent was no statesman. The Turkish officers did what they pleased; an uncle led a rebel army to Fustāt, but was defeated; and Syria and Tarsūs were under no sort of

¹ Traces of the quicksilver were found in later years on excavating the ground after the destruction of the palace.

² A coin of Miṣr, A.M. 283 (896) bears the name of G'eysh b. Khumarawayh.

³ Hārūn's coins are struck at Miṣr, A.H. 283—92; Damascus, 284, 285; Aleppo, 285, and Palestine, 285, 290, 291.

control, though the caliph accorded Hārūn the patent as governor of Syria and Egypt, on condition of paying a yearly tribute of 450,000*D.*, and resigning the northern districts of Syria. The Karmāṭis (Carmathians) overran Syria and laid siege to Damascus, and the Egyptian armies suffered heavy losses. The caliph at last found it necessary to interfere. Strengthened by a decisive victory over the Carmathians, and supported by some leading

Egyptian emirs in Syria, he sent a fleet from Tarsūs to Damietta and an army overland to 'Abbāsa, a small town on the Syrian frontier, a day's march from Bilbeys, developed out of one of the rest-houses erected

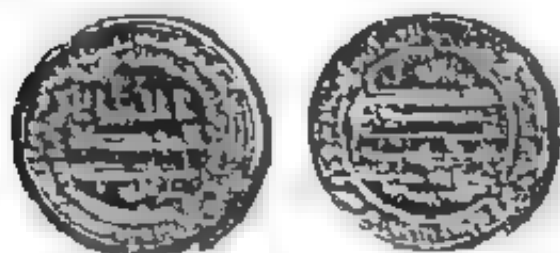


Fig. 16. Dinār of Hārūn b. Khumārawayh, Mīr, 904.

to smooth the progress of "Dewdrop" to her nuptials at Baghdad. Here Hārūn assembled his half-hearted troops and here, as he lay intoxicated in bed, two of his uncles entered his tent and made away with his useless life.¹ The murderer Sheybān, son of Ibn-Ṭūlūn, took his nephew's government, and prudently withdrew the army to Mīr, where he laboured, in spite of a depleted treasury, to win popularity by promises and gifts. The caliph's general, Mohammad b. Suleymān, pursued, and after a brief resistance Sheybān surrendered on terms, and left his army to its fate. Mohammad entered Kaṭāf on Jan. 10, butchered most of the black troops, burnt their quarters and utterly demolished the beautiful city which Ibn-Ṭūlūn had built. The mosque was respected, but the houses were sacked and pulled down, the gates were thrown open, the women outraged, and the people used as brutally as if they had been heathen. After an orgy of devastation, plunder,

¹ Dec. 29-30. Other accounts ascribe the murder to his slaves, under his uncle's orders, or to a Maghrabi soldier in a camp brawl.

and extortion, which lasted four months, the caliph's army withdrew, taking Sheybān and all the remaining members of Tūlūn's family as prisoners to Baghdād. The dynasty had lasted thirty-seven years and four months, during which Egypt had regained much of her ancient importance, and her capital had reached a height of wealth and luxury unknown since the Arab conquest.

THE IKHSHID.

Authorities.—El-Mas'ūdī, G'emāl es-salīm, Ibn-el-Athir, Ibn-Khallikān, el-Makrizī, Abū l-Mahāsīn, es-Suyutī, el-Isḥāqī.

Inscription.—Of Kāfūr on east wall of Haram at Jerusalem.

Coins.—Minted at Miṣr (Fustāt), Falestin (Ramla), Damascus, Hama, Tiberias.

For thirty years after the fall of the house of Tūlūn Egypt remained in an unsettled state. It was once more a dependent province, but the caliphs had become too weak to exert their authority, and the government was in the hands of Turkish soldiers. The armies sent from Baghdād, to hold Egypt against internal revolt and foreign invasion, dictated their own terms to successive governors, and the man who would rule the province must first be acceptable to the troops, whose favour depended upon their pay. Next to the generals, therefore, the most powerful personage was the treasurer, and this office was held during the whole of this disturbed period by one family, called Mādarānī (from their birth-place Mādarāyā, near Baṣra, on the Euphrates), who gradually acquired all but supreme power in Egypt. The other officials were of less importance under this military tyranny than in the earlier period of provincial government, and only one kādī deserves commemoration, the universally revered Ibn-Ḥarbaweyh, the last judge

whom the governors visited in state, and who did not rise to receive them.

The feeble hold which the caliphs' governors retained on the country is shown by the successful usurpation of an obscure but spirited young man named *Alahammad el-Khalangi*, who collected in Palestine a handful of Egyptians who sympathized with the fallen house of Tulun; seized Ramla, and recited the public prayers in the three names of the caliph, as head of church and state, Ibrahim (a captive son of *Khumarawerh*) as governor, and himself as his deputy. The people listened placidly, and seemed interested in this curious band of adventurers, driven from house and home, and without any visible means of subsistence. The troops led against them by 'Isa, who had taken over the government of Egypt from the 'Abbasid general, retreated step by step, and in September, 901, Khalangi entered Fostat and proclaimed in the prayers the same three names as at Ramla. The people, who had not forgotten the glorious days of Ibn-Fulun, rejoiced at the shadowy restoration, and in the height of enthusiasm painted themselves and their horses yellow with saffron. The adventurer appointed the necessary officers of administration, and took up his residence in the governor's house unopposed. His popularity and following increased with his immunity. It is true he found an empty treasury, for 'Isa had carried off the public money together with all the account-books and most of the clerks, so that it was impossible to discover the due assessments of the tax-payers. But Khalangi did not trouble himself much about legality, and bade his collectors draw the revenue as best they could, covering their extortions with an orderly distribution of receipts and promises of reimbursement on the recovery of the tax books. This wonderful young man next sent troops by sea and land to Alexandria (though the real governor of Egypt was encamped hard by), captured the city, and brought back in triumph not only the governor's treasure, but some of the missing accountants. Meanwhile the caliph, who did not recognize the self-constituted lieutenant-governor, sent an army from Mesopotamia to

bring him to reason, but Khalangī drove it away from el-‘Arish with much slaughter. The time of reckoning, however, was at hand. A defeat of part of his army by ‘Isā was followed by the arrival by sea and land of stronger forces from the caliph, which effected a junction with ‘Isā; and after a series of determined engagements, Khalangī was forced back upon Fustāt, where he was betrayed by his friends to the tardily vindicated govern-⁹⁰⁶ment, and sent to the caliph at Baghdād to be displayed on a camel as a fearful example to the whole city, and then executed (May, 906). That a mere adventurer should have held the capital of Egypt and defied the caliph's armies for eight months is a striking comment on the insecurity of the government.¹

To add to the confusion came the danger of foreign invasion. The famous dynasty of the Fāṭimid caliphs⁹⁰⁹—the greatest Shī‘a power in mediæval history—was

¹ The following is the list of the governors of Egypt from the downfall of the Tūlūnid dynasty to the accession of the Ikshīd :—

| CALIPHS. | | GOVERNORS. |
|------------------|-----|---|
| El-Muktefi. | 905 | ‘Isā b. Moḥammad en-Nūsharī. Usurpation of el-Khalangī, Sept., 905— May, 906. |
| 908 El-Muktedir. | 910 | Tekin el-Khāsas el-G‘ezerī. |
| | 915 | Dhukā er-Rūmī. |
| | 919 | Tekin restored. |
| | 921 | Mahmūd b. Hamal (for three days). |
| | 921 | Tekin again (for a few days). |
| | 921 | Hilāl b. Bedr. |
| | 923 | Aḥmad b. Keyghalagh. |
| | 924 | Tekin (for fourth time). |
| 932 El-Ḥāhir. | 933 | Moḥammad b. Tekin. |
| 933 Er-Rāḍī. | 933 | Moḥammad b. Ṭuḡḡ the Ikshīd (absent). |
| | 933 | Aḥmad b. Keyghalagh. |
| | 934 | Usurpation of Moḥammad b. Tekin, June— July. |
| | 935 | The Ikshīd. |

The marshals were frequently changed under these governors; Moḥammad b. Ṭāhur was the most important. The chief ḳāḍī under the first seven governors to 924 was Iḥn-Ḥarbaweyh. The treasurers were Abū-Zunbur el-Mādarānī and his successor Moḥammad el-Mādarānī.

beginning its conquest of North Africa. In 906 the last of the once powerful house of the Aghlabids of Tunis came flying to Egypt, and his pursuers were not far behind. In 913-4 Khunḡaa, the Fatimid general, entered Barca, committing abominable atrocities; and, in July, 914, joined by el Ḥāim, the son of the first Fatimid caliph el-Mahdi, he occupied Alexandria without opposition—the inhabitants in panic had taken to their ships—and thence, avoiding Fustāt, advanced as far as the Fayyūm. There the invaders were attacked and defeated by the Egyptian army—strongly reinforced from Baghdad—and driven out of Egypt. Five years later they returned to the attack; the Alexandrians had again to take to the water, their city was sacked, the Fayyūm devastated, and fire and sword carried as far as Ushmūn. Meanwhile the Fatimid fleet of eighty-five sail anchored in Alexandria harbour. The caliph's admirals could only collect twenty ships at Tarsus to send against it, but so well were they handled that most of the enemy's vessels were burned with naphtha, and their crews and soldiery killed or brought prisoners to Fustāt. On land, however, the outlook was less hopeful. Ducas the Greek (Dhukā er-Rūmī), who was then governor, had great difficulty in getting the Egyptian troops to move, they had to be bribed with gratuities, and even then they timidly entrenched their camp at G'iza to prevent surprise. At this critical moment Ducas died, and his successor, Tekin, was fortunately a *persona grata* with the troops, and inspired some confidence among the panic-stricken population. The invaders in the Fayyūm, moreover, were suffering severely from famine and plague, brought on by their own excesses. Their attack on the G'iza camp, now protected by a double ditch, was repulsed at about the same date as the victory off Alexandria; but they still held Upper Egypt, and Tekin hardly attempted to dislodge them, even when strongly reinforced by 3000 fresh troops sent from Baghdad. He was hampered by intrigues at home, for both the ḥāḍī and Mādarānī the treasurer, with many other leading persons, were discovered to be in treasonable correspondence with the

Fātimid caliph and eager to welcome him at Fustāt. With treachery in the capital, and Alexandria in the enemy's hands, Tekin stood on the defensive, until a second contingent from Mesopotamia came to his relief. Then, at last, in the spring of 920 the Egyptian army marched against the invaders, and a series of engagements in the Fayyūm and at Alexandria, ended before the close of the year in the retreat of the Fātimids to Barbary.

The condition of the country after their expulsion was chaotic. The eunuch Mānis who, as commander of the troops from Baghdād, had been dictator of Egypt for some years, and had deposed and set up governors as he pleased, was at last recalled in 921; but the soldiers continued to dominate the government: disbanded troops harried the country and plundered and murdered the folk; and the disorder was so great that even Tekin, when appointed governor for the fourth time, because no one else could pacify the army, found it necessary for safety to quarter his troops in his own palace. Some degree of order was at length restored, but after his death, in March, 933, his son was hooted out of the country by the army, clamouring for arrears of pay; the treasurer Mādarānī was in hiding; rival governors contended for power, mustered their troops, and skirmished over the distracted country, and a fearful earthquake, which laid many houses and villages low, followed by a portentous shower of meteors, added to the terror of the populace.

In this desperate state of affairs the Ikhshid¹ took over the government of Egypt in August, 935. It needed an exceptionally strong man to meet the emergency, and the Ikhshid proved himself equal to the position. Moḥammad b. Tagh̄g came of a princely family in Ferghāna on the Iaxartes, who bore the title of Ikhshid in

¹ He was allowed to use the ancestral title by special permission of the caliph four years after his arrival in Egypt. His coinage, like that of the Tūlūnids, was almost all of gold, and was issued from the mints of Misr (i.e. Fustāt) in A.H. 328 (A.D. 939-40) and 333 (944-5); Filastīn (Ramla), 331, 332, 333; Damascus, 333, 334.

the same manner as the sovereigns of Persia and Tabaristan were styled Kishā (Ciosroes) and Ispehbedh. His grandfather G'uff was among the Turkish officers imported into 'Irāk by the caliph Mo'tasim, son of Hārūn er-Rasīd; and his father, the emir Tughġ, had served with distinction in the armies of Khumārawayh, fought against the Romans when commandant of Tarsūs, and had been rewarded with the government of Syria. The pride of success brought its punishment, and he ended his life in the prison of Damascus. His son Mohammad, the future ruler of Egypt, who shared his captivity, obtained his own release, and, after various vicissitudes of fortune, took service under Tekin, was appointed to the command of the sedition-district of the Hawf in Lower Egypt and after holding various appointments in Syria, where he gained the high approval of the caliph, became governor of Damascus in 920. Three years later he was nominated by el-Kāhir to the charge of Egypt, but the state of Syria did not then permit his leaving, and though he was duly recognized as governor in the public prayers at Fustāt in 931, and sent a deputy to represent him, another governor temporarily filled his place until he came in person, on a second nomination by the caliph Rādī, in 935. The virtual ruler of Egypt, Mālarām the treasurer, instigated the governor to resist the appointment, and to oppose the entrance of the Ikhshid. They were, however, completely routed at Farafā, and the fleet from Syria, sailing up the Nile from Tinnīs to G'iza, commanded the capital until the Ikhshid brought his army up and took possession.

How largely the previous anarchy was due to the incapacity and jealousy of the governors and their officers is evident from the fact that during the eleven years of the Ikhshid's firm government we do not read of a single usurrection or disturbance. The army recognized its master, and his Syrian troops overawed whatever disaffection may have subsisted among the Egyptians. He was an energetic yet cautious general, and his immense strength—for no other man could stretch his bow—inspired respect. Yet he is said to

have gone in fear of his life, and to have taken extraordinary precautions against assassination. He preferred peace to war, and would conclude a treaty and submit to loss of territory, and even payment of tribute, sooner than continue a doubtful struggle. His powerful army of 400,000 men, of whom 8000 formed his bodyguard, not only prevented any serious attempt of the Fātimids to renew their invasions, after they were driven back from Alexandria in the first year of his reign, but also gave him weight in the scrimmage then surging round the tottering caliphate. The temporal sway of the "commander of the faithful" had by this time disappeared. The governors of the various provinces had acquired sovereign powers. The Buwayhids held Persia, the Samānids the lands beyond the Oxus, the Hindūshids Mesopotamia, and a number of ambitious Turkish emirs fought for the possession of Baghdad and the office of ghalib to the unhappy pontiff of Islam. The Ikhshid's efforts were chiefly directed towards preserving his Syrian province against the aggression of one or other of these turbulent neighbours. He first came in conflict with the emir Ibn Rāḡ, who without provocation seized Hims and occupied Damascus. After an Egyptian defeat, probably at el-'Arish on the frontier, and a sanguinary but indecisive battle at el-Laggūn, twenty miles from Tiberias, peace was made on the terms that Ibn-Rāḡ retained Syria north of Kamla and received a yearly tribute of 140,000*D.* from the Ikhshid. This understanding was partly due to the good feeling produced by the chivalry of the emir, who was so distressed to find the corpse of one of the Ikhshid's brothers among the slain at Laḡḡūn that he sent his own son to his adversary as an atonement, to be dealt with as he chose. Not to be outdone in generosity, the Ikhshid clothed the intended sacrifice in robes of honour and sent him back in all courtesy to his father. Of course the youth married the daughter of his chivalrous host, now joined in the friendly ties of treaty and alliance. The episode forms a pleasing contrast to the many barbarities of the age.

After Ibn-Rāḡ's death, two years later, the Ikhshid

recovered Syria and re-entered Damascus without striking a blow. To Syria and Egypt the caliph el-Muttaki now added the governorship of the holy cities of Mekka and Medina, and the hereditary principle was established

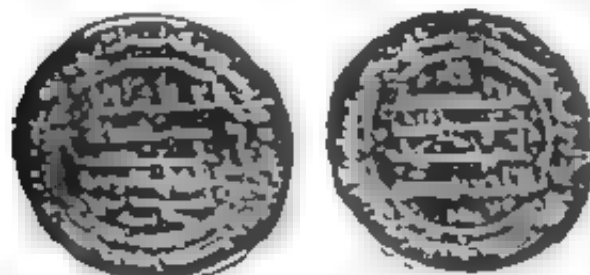


Fig. 17. Dirhām of Muhammad al-Ikhshid, Palestine, 913

when the Ikhshid made the captains and soldiers of his army do homage to his elder son as their future prince. Tossed between the powerful dynasty of the Hamdānids and the contending emirs Tūzūn and

el-Bardī, the wretched caliph, driven out of Baghdad, turned for succour to the Ikhshid, who came north to recover Aleppo from an aggressive Hamdānid, and after settling his own affairs, had an interview with his spiritual suzerain on the Euphrates opposite Rakka, and pressed him to seek refuge with him in Syria or Egypt. The caliph, however, stood in too great terror of the other emirs to venture upon so critical a step, nor would he even accept an offer of troops, though he took a subsidy of gold, and a vast amount of money passed into the hands of all the court. He let his great vassal depart, after showing him exceptional and touching favour, and confirming the government of Egypt and Syria to him and his heir for a term of thirty years; and trusted himself to the sworn honour of Tūzūn a month later, only to be treacherously blinded and deposed. The shrieks of the victim and his wives were drowned in a tattoo of drums and the acclamation of his successor.

The Ikhshid was still far from secure on his northern frontier. Aleppo was reoccupied by the Hamdānid leader, Sayf ed dawla, before the close of the year, and an army despatched from Egypt under the eunuchs Kāfūr and Yānis was met at er-Rastan (Arethusa) on the Orontes, and routed with the loss of 4,000 prisoners, besides 10,000 killed and drowned. Sayf ed dawla proceeded to annex

Damascus, and the Ikhshid was forced to march against him in person with a large army. They met near Kinnasrin. The Ikhshid placed his light troops, armed with short lances, in front, and kept a body of 10,000 chosen men, whom he called the "standfasts," in the rear. The light troops were quickly broken by the Hamdanid attack, and the enemy, thinking the victory already won, fell to plundering the baggage, whereupon the Ikhshid flung his "standfasts" upon them with complete success and scattered them in all directions. The prince of Egypt re-entered Aleppo, and then Damascus, whence he negotiated a strangely unfavourable treaty with his vanquished enemy: he agreed to abandon Aleppo and northern Syria to the Hamdanid, and to pay him an annual tribute in return for the possession of Damascus. The explanation seems to be that the Ikhshid found the guardianship of northern Syria too troublesome a business at his age, for he was now sixty-four. He survived the campaign but a year, and died at Damascus in July, 940, and was buried at Jerusalem, where his successors also lie.

Of his government in Egypt little is recorded, and though like Ibn-Tulun, he was a builder, and set up a beautiful palace in the pleasure called the "Garden of Kafar," which lay west of the present Suk-en-Nahhasin, no trace of his buildings remain. The historian Mas'udi, who visited Egypt during his reign, is more occupied with the pyramids and other wonders than with contemporary buildings or people. He gives no description of the palace or the court, or of its master, nor does he throw any light upon the condition of the inhabitants. He does, however, give some account of the system of irrigation, and describes the cutting of the canal dams on the 14th of September, and their closure (in the delta) in January. "The Night of the Bath (*Laylat el Cha'is*)," he writes, "is one of the great ceremonies, and the people all go to it on foot on the 10th of January. I was present in 370 [942] when the Ikhshid Mohammad b. Tugh' lived in his house called el-Mukhtara ('the elect') in the island that divides the Nile in two. He ordered

the bank of the island and the [opposite] bank of el-Fustât to be illuminated each with a thousand torches, besides private illuminations. Muslims and Christians, by hundreds of thousands, crowded the Nile on boats, or in kiosks overlooking the river, or [standing] on the banks, all eager for pleasure, and vying in equipage, dress, gold and silver cups, and jewellery. The sound of music was heard all about, with singing and dancing. It was a splendid night, the best in all Mîr for beauty and gaiety; the doors of the separate quarters were left open, and most people bathed in the Nile, knowing well that [on that night] it is a sure preservative and cure for all disease.¹ He also states that the Ikhshid gave leave to people to dig for treasure, of which they said they had found clues in ancient manuscripts: but they discovered only caves and vaults full of statues, which were made of bones and dust—an early reference to mummies! But if we know little of the internal affairs of Egypt under the Ikhshid, it is at least clear that he brought repose to the distracted country, and that he established for the first time an hereditary principality recognised by the caliph, and practically implying independence. The

tenure indeed was limited to thirty years, and confirmation by each successive caliph was a necessary and expensive formality, but in capable hands the virtual independence of his dynasty was assured.

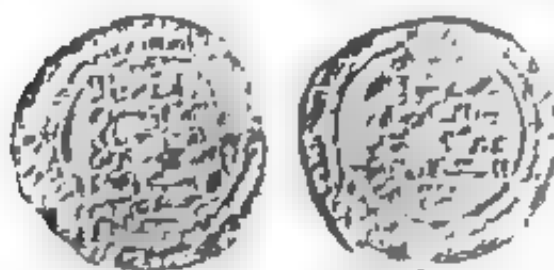


Fig. 18. Dirhem of Abū-l-Ḳāsim b. al-Ikhshid, Damascus, 949.

Whether the Ikhshid's two sons Abū-l-Ḳāsim Ūngūr (946-961)² and Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī (961-965), who nominally

¹ The 'Id-el-Maghtas or "feast of the task" was really the Christian Epiphany, in memory of Christ's baptism (Abū-Ḥālib, p. 129, note). Mas'ūdī, *Murūḡ-ah-Diḡab*, II. 364-5.

² Ibid., II. 419.

³ Coins bearing Abū-l-Ḳāsim's name were issued at Mîr in A.H. 335 (946-7), 337, 339, 341, 342; Filastīn, 335, 336, 337, 339, 341, 345.

succeeded,¹ were capable or not, they were allowed no opportunity of proving it. The elder was only fourteen at his father's death, and though the younger, 'Alī, had reached the age of twenty-three when his turn came to enjoy the name of governor he was kept in the same state of pupillage as his brother by the black eunuch Kāfūr, who acted as regent of what may now almost be called the kingdom of Egypt. They were given a comfortable allowance of 400,000*D*, and bidden to enjoy themselves and not meddle with affairs of state. They submitted with scarcely a struggle, enjoyed their harām or *Ḳorān*, according to their tastes, and died in luxurious obscurity, when (965) their black tyrant ascended the throne with the caliph's approval, as "master" (*ustād*) of Egypt and its dependencies.² Abū-l-Misk Kāfūr ("Musky Camphor") was an Abyssinian slave bought from an Ottoman for a matter of less than ten pounds by the Ikhsid, who discovering his merits made him governor to his two sons. The relation of tutor and ward lasted for their lives. Kāfūr was doubtless an excellent servant, though not always a successful general; but when in power he showed all the unbridled love of luxury and ease that marks the black in office. Few external difficulties troubled him; for after a campaign against the ever-encroaching Hamdanid, in which the Ikhsid's energetic brother Ḥasan, accompanied by Kāfūr won two signal victories over Seyt-ed-dawla, near Laggūn and on the Marg 'Adhrā by Damascus, and the Egyptian army entered Aleppo, peace was concluded on the same basis as in 945, except that the tribute then imposed was discontinued.³ The consent of the caliph (or his keeper) to the succession of the two young princes to the govern-

346, 347 (958-9); Damascus, 338 (949-50); Hama, 336; Tadmira (Tiberias) 337 (948-9).

¹ Coins bearing the name of 'Alī b. el Ikhsid were issued at Misr in A.H. 350, 351, 352, 353, 354 (961-5); Fikwin, 350, 351, 352, 353, 355; the last must have been struck within eleven days of his death on 11 Moharram, 355 (7 Feb. 965).

² No coins bear Kāfūr's name: his currency was in the name of the caliph alone.

ment of Egypt, Syria, and the holy cities, was easily obtained, and in the latter part of Kāfur's administration not only Damascus but the whole of Syria as far as Aleppo and Tarsūs was again incorporated under the rule of Egypt. Beyond some temporary disturbances at the Mekka pilgrimages in 953-4, and a raid of the Karmatis upon Syria in 963, and the capture of the great Egyptian pilgrim caravan of 20,000 camels in 966, there was little trouble abroad, and in Egypt, in spite of a series of terrific earthquakes, a great fire which destroyed 1700 houses in Fustāt, bad Niles, and much consequent scarcity and distress, the people seem to have remained strangely quiet. Even an irruption of the Nubians, who carried fire and sword, slaughter and famine through the Saïd in 963 did not stir up a revolt. The Ikhshid had got the Egyptians into order, and the big black eunuch "Camphor" evidently knew how to maintain it.

Kāfur was at once the Lucullus and the Maecenas of his age. He had contrived to acquire some cultivation,

as most clever slaves did, and he loved to surround himself with poets and critics, and listen to their discussions of an evening, or make them read him the history of the caliphs of old. Like all blacks he delighted in music. He had



Fig. 19. — Dīnār of Abū-l-Kāsim b. el-Ikhshid, Mīr, 950.

control of vast sums of money, and he scattered it liberally among his literary friends, who repaid him in sublime verse. The celebrated poet el-Mutanabbī was among his intimates for a couple of years, and from his odes one gains such a picture of the "master" as an avowed panegyrist, who afterwards became a bitter satirist of his patron, may afford. When another poet explained in choice verse that the frequent earthquakes of the time were due to Egypt's dancing for joy at Kāfur's virtues, the pleased Ethiopian threw him a thousand dinārs. A sheriff of the

family of the Prophet who once picked up his riding-whip for him, found himself suddenly the owner of a baggage-train worth 15,000*D*. On his table, "Camphor" was lavish: he had the black's jolly sensuality. The daily provision for his kitchen consisted in 100 sheep, 100 lambs, 200 geese, 200 fowls, 1000 pigeons and other birds, and 100 jars of sweets. The daily consumption amounted to 1000 lb. of meat, besides fowls and sweets, and 20 skins of liquor were allowed to the servants alone. A favourite drink was quince-cider, for which the *hadi* of Asyût sent 20,000 quince-apples every season.

On Kāfir's death in April, 968, after nineteen years of virtual and three of titular rule, the chief officers of the court immediately assembled to elect a prince, the majority agreeing to accept the choice of the majority. Such a proceeding was without a precedent in Egypt, and shows how the authority of the caliph—the nominal sovereign—was ignored. The choice fell upon a child of eleven, Abū-l-Fawār's Ahmad, son of 'Alī b. el-Ikshīd,¹ who was forthwith acknowledged in the public prayers as ruler of Egypt, Syria, and the holy cities, with his second cousin, el-Hoseyn b. 'Obeydallāh b. Tugh̃, as next heir. Ibn el-Furat undertook the finances, and Samuel, the former director of the pigeon-post, ventured upon the war office. The extortions and niggardliness of the one, and the incompetence of the other, led to a military revolt, and Huseyn assumed the regency.² It was not for long. The helpless condition of the government did not escape the shrewd observation of el-Mo'izz, the fourth Fātimid caliph of Barbary, and the ambition to be master of Egypt, which had only slumbered since the Ikshīd's accession, revived in fresh vigour. The inroads of the Karmatīs in Syria, and the distracted state of 'Irāk, precluded the fear of interference from the east, and the opportunity was not to be neglected. A little more than a year after Kāfir's death, the Fātimid army

¹ Coins of Ahmad are dated A.H. 358 (968-9) at Minr and Fāstāt.

² A coin with the name of el-Hoseyn b. 'Obeydallāh was issued in 358 at Fāstāt (Kamla), of which he was governor (Lavoix, *Cat.*, E 740, 64).

entered Fustât. With the fall of the last Ikhlîd Egypt ceased for two centuries to be numbered among the provinces of the eastern orthodox caliphate.

Three hundred and thirty years had passed since the Saracens first invaded the valley of the Nile. The people, with traditional docility, had liberally adopted the religion of their rulers, and the Muslims now formed the great majority of the population. Arabs and natives had blended into much the same race that we now call Egyptians; but so far the mixture had not produced any conspicuous men. The few commanding figures among the governors, Ibn-Tûlûn, the Ikhlîd, Kâfûr, were foreigners, and even these were but a step above the stereotyped official. They essayed no great extension of their dominions; they did not try to extinguish their dangerous neighbours the schismatic F'atimids; and though they possessed and used fleets, they ventured upon no excursions against Europe. In material conditions it may be doubted whether the people gained anything by the Arab conquest. No doubt the old system of cultivation and irrigation went on, as it always has done; but it owed little to the enterprise or public spirit of the rulers, who left the irrigation and agriculture to take care of themselves, and were chiefly concerned in drawing the revenue. The decrease in the land-tax recorded by Makrizî faithfully reflects the carelessness of the governors. Their public works were almost wholly confined to the capital, which they enlarged and adorned with palaces and other buildings, gardens, and meydans, for their own pleasure. The luxury of such princes as Khumâraweyh must have benighted the townspeople, for a time, at the expense of the country taxpayers. The courts of men like Ibn-Tûlûn and Kâfûr attracted men of learning and polite letters from other parts of the caliphate, and Mîs'r was gradually acquiring a reputation as a centre of enlightenment. But so far it was much behind Baghdâd, Damascus, and Cordova; the Ashar university was not yet founded, nor had the Muslims of Egypt yet produced a poet, historian, or critic of the first rank in Arabic literature. On the other hand, it must be remem-

bered that historiography and literary criticism were still in a very crude stage of development in all parts of the Mohammadan dominions ; the celebrated Tabari, a contemporary of Khumāraweyh, had not risen above the mere collecting of traditions without attempting to co-ordinate or criticize them ; Mas'û li who saw the Ikhlîd, was chiefly a collector of anecdotes and curiosities of history ; and the poets or versifiers of the caliphate were essentially an artificial product of the court, whose talents were best remunerated at the richest capital, or wherever fools and their money were most readily parted. The genuine poetry of the desert was no longer a living inspiration, but a classical tradition. The literature of erudition and compilation was only beginning.

CHAPTER IV

THE SHĪ'A REVOLUTION

969

Authorities.—'Arīb el Kurtubī, Ibn-el-Athar, Ibn-Khallikān, Ibn-Khaldūn, el-Makrizī. Quatremère, *Vie de Mo.*; Wustenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Califat.*

THE great revolution which sixty years before had swept over north Africa, and now spread to Egypt, arose out of the old controversy over the legitimacy of the caliphate. The prophet Mohāmmad died without definitely naming a successor, and thereby bequeathed an interminable quarrel to his followers. The principle of election, thus introduced, raised the first three caliphs, Abū-Bekr, 'Omar, 'Othmān, to the cathedra at Medina; but a strong minority held that the "divine right" rested with 'Ali, the "Lion of God," first convert to Islām, husband of the prophet's daughter Fāṭima, and father of Mohāmmad's only male descendants. When 'Ali in turn became the fourth caliph, he was the mark for jealousy, intrigue, and at length assassination; his sons, the grandsons of the prophet, were excluded from the succession; his family were cruelly persecuted by their successful rivals, the Omayyad usurpers; and the tragedy of Kerbelā and the murder of Hoseyn set the seal of martyrdom on the holy family and stirred a passionate enthusiasm which still rouses intense excitement in the annual representations of the Persian Passion Play.

The rent thus opened in Islām was never closed, and to this day the hatred between Sunnis and Shī'a, between the Popular Choice and the Divine Right, is more bitter

than between Protestant and Catholic in the days of persecution. The ostracism of 'Ali "laid the foundation of the grand incurable schism which has divided the Mohammadan church, and equally destroyed the practice of charity among the members of their common creed and endangered the speculative truths of doctrine. Abroad, it necessarily lamed the propagation of the faith by the evidence which it afforded the unbeliever of the diversity of opinion, strife, and reciprocal maledictions of its professors themselves. At home, it placed the caliphs in so false a position that they presented the extraordinary spectacle of sovereign pontiffs who rendered their unjust claim to the crown still more palpably indefensible by persecuting the descendants of the author of their faith and founder of their throne, and who, to fill up the measure of inconsistency, were obliged publicly to invoke every blessing on that family by whose exclusion alone they enjoyed the privilege of performing the *khutba*. Thus it alienated the hearts of a large portion of the people from their spiritual and temporal head, sowed the ineradicable seeds of sedition, conspiracy, and rebellion, placed the usurper on a tottering throne from which the rightful claimant might at any time hurl him; and left him to rule a divided people with a broken sceptre."¹

The history of the 'Alid schism, or of Shi'ism, may be read elsewhere;² here we can only take up the links that connect it with the conquest of Egypt by the Fatimids. The descendants of 'Ali, though almost universally devoid of the qualities of great leaders, possessed the persistence and devotion of martyrs, and their sufferings heightened the fanatical enthusiasm of their supporters. All attempts to recover the temporal power having proved vain, the 'Alids fell back upon the spiritual authority of the successive candidates of the holy family, whom they proclaimed to be the Imāms or spiritual leaders of the faithful. This doctrine of the Imāmate gradually acquired

¹ Nicholson, *Establ. of Fat. Dyn.*, 7, 8.

² See, for example, Dozy, *Hist. de l'Islamisme*, trans. Chassinat, ch. ix.

a more mystical meaning, supported by an allegorical interpretation of the Korān; and a mysterious influence was ascribed to the Imām, who, though hidden from mortal eye, on account of the persecution of his enemies, would soon come forward publicly in the character of the ever-expected Mahdi, sweep away the corruptions of the heretical caliphate, and revive the majesty of the pure lineage of the prophet. All Mohammadans believe in a coming Mahdi, a Messiah who shall restore right and prepare for the second advent of Mohammad and the tribunal of the last day; but the Shi'a turned the expectation to special account. They taught that the true Imām, though invisible to mortal sight, is ever living; they predicted the Mahdi's speedy appearance, and kept their adherents on the alert to take up arms in his service. With a view to his coming they organized a pervasive conspiracy, instituted a secret society with carefully graduated stages of initiation, used the doctrines of all religions and sects as weapons in the propaganda, and sent missionaries throughout the provinces of Isān to increase the numbers of the initiates, and pave the way for the great revolution. We see their partial success in the ravages of the Carmathians, who were the true parents of the Fātimids. The leaders and chief missionaries had really nothing in common with Mohammadanism. Among themselves they were frankly atheists. Their objects were political, and they used religion in any form, and adapted it in all modes, to secure proselytes, to whom they imparted only so much of their doctrine as they were able to bear. These men were furnished with "an armoury of proselytism" as perfect, perhaps, as any known to history; they had appeals to enthusiasm, and arguments for the reason, and "fuel for the fiercest passions of the people and times in which they moved." They combined indeed the intellectual dexterity and unscrupulousness ascribed to the Jesuit, with the talent for criminal organization of the Decai. Their real aim was not religious or constructive, but pure nihilism. They used the claim of the family of 'Alī, not because they believed in any

divine right or any caliphate, but because some flag had to be flourished in order to rouse the people.

One of these missionaries, disguised as a merchant, journeyed back to Barbary in 902 with some Berber pilgrims who had performed the sacred ceremonies at Mekka. He was welcomed by the great tribe of the Kitāma, and rapidly acquired an extraordinary influence over the Berbers—a race prone to superstition, and easily impressed by the mysterious rites of initiation and the emotional doctrines of the propagandist the wrights of the prophetic house, and the approaching triumph of the Mahdi. Barbary had never been much attached to the caliphate, and for a century it had been practically independent under the Aghlabid dynasty, the barbarous excesses of whose later sovereigns had alienated their subjects. ¹Amas moreover, had established themselves, in the dynasty of the Idrisids in Morocco since the end of the eighth century. The land was in every respect apt for revolution, and the success of Abu-'Aḍalāh esh-Shīfī, the new missionary, was extraordinarily rapid. In a few years he had a following of 200,000 armed men, and after a series of battles he drove Zaydāt-Allāh, the last Aghlabid prince, out of the country in 908. The missionary then proclaimed the Imām 'Obeydallāh as the true caliph and spiritual head of Islam. Whether this 'Obeydallāh was really a descendant of 'Alī or not,² he had been carefully

¹ He was represented as the brother of the twelfth Imām, who mysteriously vanished at Favarāh; or as the son of one of the "hidden" Imāms, who (according to the Ismā'īlites) succeeded to the direction of the religion after the death of the seventh Imām. But there were at least eight different pedigrees provided for 'Obeydallāh, and this discrepancy among his own supporters is a strong argument against his pretended descent from 'Alī and the other Imāms, especially in view of the pride and care with which the Arabs preserved their genealogies. The opponents of the Fātimids (or 'Obeydids as they prefer to call them), on the other hand, asserted that 'Obeydallāh's real name was Sa'īd; some said he was a Jew, and they traced his descent, or that of his adoptive father, to a Persian eye-doctor of Damascus views. Arab historians are sharply divided on this point, but these opinions are partly biased by religious and political influences.

² El-Makrizī and Ibn-Khaldūn are the most noted supporters of the

prepared for the rôle, and reached Barbary in disguise with the greatest mystery and some difficulty, pursued by the suspicions of the Baghdad caliph, who, in great alarm, sent repeated orders for his arrest. Indeed, the victorious missionary had to rescue his spiritual chief from a sordid prison at Sigilmāsa. Then humbly prostrating himself before him, he hailed him as the expected Mahdi, and in January, 910, he was duly prayed for in the mosque of Kayrawān as "the Imām 'Obeydallāh el-Mahdi, commander of the faithful." The missionary's Berber proselytes were too numerous to encourage resistance, and the few who indulged the luxury of conscientious scruples were killed or imprisoned. El-Mahdi, indeed, appeared so secure in power that he excited the jealousy of his discoverer. Abū-'Abdallāh the missionary now found himself nobody, where a month before he had been supreme. The Fātimid restoration was to him only a means to an end, he had used 'Obeydallāh's title as an engine of revolution, intending to proceed to the furthest lengths of his philosophy, to a complete social and political anarchy, the destruction of Islam, community of lands and women, and all the delight of unshackled licence. Instead of this, his creature had absorbed his power, and all such designs were void. He began to hatch treason and to hint doubts as to the genuineness of the Mahdi, who, as he truly represented, according to prophecy ought to work miracles and show other proofs of his divine mission. People began to ask for a "sign." In reply, the Mahdi had the missionary murdered.

The first Fātimid caliph, though without experience, was so vigorous a ruler that he could dispense with the dangerous support of his discoverer. He held the throne for a quarter of a century and established his authority, more or less continuously, over the Arab and Berber tribes and settled cities from the frontier of Egypt to the

legitimacy of the Fātimid 'Obeydallāh whilst G'émāl-ed-dīn of Aleppo, Ibn-khalikān, el-Mekīn, Abū-l-Fidā, es-Suyūfī, Abū-l-Muhām, among others, regard him as an impostor. Of European scholars, de Sacy adopted the former, and Quatremère the latter view.

province of Fez (Fās) in Morocco, received the allegiance of the Mohammadan governor of Sicily, and twice despatched expeditions into Egypt, which he would probably have permanently conquered if he had not been hampered by perpetual insurrections in Barbary. Distant governors and often whole tribes of Berbers, were constantly in revolt, and the disastrous famine of 928-9, coupled with the Asiatic plague which his troops had brought back with them from Egypt, led to general disturbances and insurrections which fully occupied the later years of his reign. The western provinces, from Tihart and Nākur to Fez and beyond, frequently threw off all show of allegiance. His authority was founded more on fear than on religious enthusiasm, though zeal for the 'Alid cause had its share in his original success. The new "Eastern doctrines," as they were called, were enforced at the sword's point, and frightful examples were made of those who ventured to tread in the old paths. Nor were the free-thinkers of the large towns, who shared the missionary's esoteric principles, encouraged, for outwardly, at least, the Mahdī was strictly a Muslim. When people at Kayrawān began to put in practice the missionary's advanced theories, to scoff at all the rules of Islām, to indulge in free love, pig's flesh, and wine, they were sternly brought to order. The mysterious powers expected of a Mahdī were sedulously rumoured among the credulous Berbers, though no miracles were actually exhibited; and the obedience of the conquered provinces was secured by horrible outrages and atrocities, of which the terrified people dared not provoke a repetition at the hands of the Mahdī's savage generals.

His eldest son Abū-l-Kāsim, who had twice led expeditions into Egypt, succeeded to the caliphate with the title of el-Kāim (924-926). He began his reign with warlike vigour. He sent out a fleet in 934 or 935, which harried the southern coast of France, blockaded and took Genoa, and coasted along Calabria, massacring and plundering, burning the shipping, and carrying off slaves wherever it touched. At the same time he despatched a third army against Egypt; but the

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firm hand of the Ikhshid now held the government, and his brother 'Obeydallah, with 15,000 horse, drove the enemy out of Alexandria and gave them a crushing defeat on their way home. But for the greater part of his reign el Kāim was on the defensive, fighting for existence against the usurpation of one Abū-Yezīd, a so repugnant Shi'ism, cursed the Mahdi and his successor, stirred up most of Morocco and Barbary against el-Kāim, drove him out of his capital, and went near to putting an end to the Fatimid caliphate. It was only after seven years of uninterrupted civil war that this formidable insurrection died out, under the firm but politic management of the third caliph, el-Manṣūr (940-953), a brave man who knew both when to strike and when to be generous. Abū-Yezīd was at last run to earth, and his body was skinned and stuffed with straw, and exposed in a cage with a couple of ludicrous apes as a warning to the disaffected.

The Fatimids so far wear a brutal and barbarous character. They do not seem to have encouraged literature or learning, but this is partly explained by the fact that culture belonged chiefly to the orthodox caliphate, and its learned men could have no dealings with the heretical pretender. The city of Kayrawān, which dates from the Arab conquest in the eighth century, preserves the remains of some noble buildings, but of their other capitals or royal residences, el-Mahdiyya (founded 913-918), el-Mohammadiya (914), and el-Manṣūriya (the ancient Šabra, restored and renamed in 948)—the last two being merely suburbs of Kayrawān—no traces of art or architecture remain to bear witness to the taste of their founders. Each began to decay as soon as its successor was built.

With the fourth caliph, however, el-Mo'izz,¹ the

¹ His full name and title was the Imām Abū-Tamīm Ma'add, el-Mo'izz-is-salm lāh (fortifier of the religion of God). Coins of Mo'izz are early numerous, struck at el-Mahdiyya and el-Manṣūriya, and Sicily; and, after the conquest, at Aḥir (Fustāt) from A.H. 358 (969), Fustāt (Kairō) from 359, Tyre, 361, and Tripoli, 364 (974-5). A unique coin in the Khedivial Library at Cairo bears the usual inscriptions of

conqueror of Egypt (953-975), the Fātimids entered upon a new phase. He was a man of politic temper, a born statesman, able to grasp the conditions of success, and to take advantage of every point in his favour. He was also highly educated, and not only wrote Arabic poetry and delighted in its literature, but studied Greek, mastered Berber and Sūdāni dialects, and is even said to have taught himself Slavonic, in order to converse with his slaves from eastern Europe. His eloquence was such as to move his audience to tears. In prudent statesmanship he added a large generosity, and his love of justice was among his noblest qualities. So far as outward acts could show, he was a strict Muslim of the Shi'a sect, and the statement of his adversaries that he was really at heart an atheist seems to rest merely upon the belief that all the Fātimids adopted the esoteric doctrines of the Ismā'īlian missionaries.

When he ascended the throne in April, 943 he had already a policy, and he lost no time in carrying it into execution. He first made a progress through his dominions, visiting each town, investigating its needs, and providing for its peace and prosperity. He bearded the rebels in their mountain fastnesses, till they laid down their arms and fell at his feet. He conciliated the chiefs and governors with presents and appointments, and was rewarded by their loyalty. At the head of his ministers he set G'awhar "the Roman," a slave from the eastern empire, who had risen to the post of secretary to the late caliph, and was now by his son promoted to the rank of wazīr and commander of the forces. He was sent in 958 to bring the ever-refractory Maghrib (Morocco) to allegiance. The expedition was entirely successful, Sīgmāsa and Fez were taken, and G'awhar reached the shore of the Atlantic. Jars of live fish and seaweed reached the capital, and proved to the caliph that his empire touched the ocean, the limitless limit of

Mo'izz and the date M197, A.H. 341, the year of his accession. As there was no expedition into Egypt that year, this coin must either record a pretension—anticipating the conquest of M198 eighteen years later—or present an engraver's error.

the world. All the African littoral, from the Atlantic to the frontier of Egypt (with the single exception of Spanish Ceuta), now peaceably admitted the sway of the Fātimid caliph.

The result was due partly to the exhaustion caused by the long struggle during the preceding reigns, partly to the politic concessions and personal influence of the able young ruler. He was liberal and conciliatory towards distant provinces, but to the Arabs of the capital he was severe. Kairawān teemed with disaffected folk, sheikhs and theologians bitterly hostile to the heretical "orientalism" of the Fātimids, and always ready to excite a tumult. Mo'izz was resolved to give them no chance, and one of his repressive measures was the curfew. At sunset a trumpet sounded, and anyone found abroad after that was liable to lose not only his way but his head. So long as they were quiet, however, he used the people justly, and sought to impress them in his favour. In a singular interview (recorded by Makrūzi) he exhibited himself to a deputation of sheikhs, dressed in the utmost simplicity, and seated before his writing materials in a plain room, surrounded by books. He wished to disabuse them of the idea that he led in private a life of luxury and self-indulgence. "You see what employs me when I am alone," he said; I read letters that come to me from the lands of the east and the west, and answer them with my own hand. I deny myself all the pleasures of the world, and I seek only to protect your lives, multiply your children, shame your rivals and daunt your enemies." Then he gave them much good advice, and especially recommended them to keep to one wife: "One woman is enough for one man. If you straitly observe what I have ordained," he concluded, "I trust that God will through you procure our conquest of the East in like manner as he has vouchsafed us the West."

[The conquest of Egypt was indeed the aim of his life.] To rule over tumultuous Arab and Berber tribes in a poor country formed no fit ambition for a man of his capacity. Egypt, its wealth, its commerce, its great port, and its docile population—these were his dream.

For two years he had been digging wells and building rest-houses on the road to Alexandria. The west was now outwardly quiet, and between Egypt and any hope of succour from the eastern caliphate stood the ravaging armies of the Karmatis. Egypt itself was in helpless disorder. The great Kāfūr was dead, and its nominal ruler was a child. Ibn-Furāt, the wezir, had made himself obnoxious to the people by arrests and extortions. The very soldiery was in revolt, and the Turkish retainers of the court mutinied, plundered the wezir's palace, and even opened negotiations with Mo'izz. Hosayn, the nephew of the Ikhshid, attempted to restore public order, but after three months of vacillating and unpopular government he returned to his own province in Palestine to make terms with the Karmatis. Famine, the result of the exceptionally low Nile of 967, added to the misery of the country; plague, as usual, followed in the steps of famine; over six hundred thousand people died in and around Iustat, and the wretched inhabitants began in despair to migrate to happier lands.

All these matters were fully reported to Mo'izz by the renegade Jew Ya'kub b. Kilis, a former favourite of Kāfūr, who had been driven from Egypt by the jealous exactions of the wezir Ibn-Furāt, and who was perfectly

familiar with the political and financial state of the Nile valley. His representations confirmed the Fatimid caliph's resolve; the Arab tribes were summoned to his standard; an immense treasure was collect-

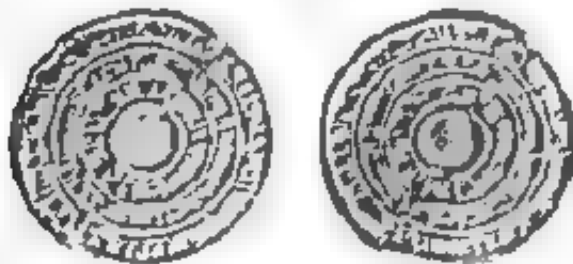


Fig. 20.—Dinar of al Mo'izz, Mar. 969.

ed—24,000,000*D.* in gold according to Makrizi, all of which was spent in the campaign—gratuities were lavishly distributed to the army; and at the head of over 100,000 men, all well mounted and armed, accompanied by a thousand camels and a mob of horses carrying money;

stores, and ammunition, G'awhar marched from Kayrawān in February, 969. The caliph himself reviewed the troops. The marshal kissed his hand and his horse's shoe. All the princes, emirs, and courtiers passed reverently on foot before the honoured leader of the conquering army, who, as a last proof of favour, received the gift of his master's own robes and charger. The governors of all the towns on the route had orders to come on foot to Gawhar's stirrup, and one of them vainly offered a large bribe to be excused the indignity.

The approach of this overwhelming force filled the Egyptian ministers with consternation, and they thought only of obtaining favourable terms. A deputation of notables, headed by Abū-G'ā'ar Muslim, a shērīf (or descendant of the Prophet's family), waited upon G'awhar near Alexandria, and demanded a capitulation. The general consented without reserve, and in a conciliatory letter granted all they asked. But they had reckoned without their host; the troops at Fustāt would not listen to such humiliation, and there was a strong war party among the citizens, to which some of the ministers leaned. The city prepared for resistance, and skirmishes took place with G'awhar's army, which had meanwhile arrived at the opposite town of Gīza in July. Forcing the passage of the river, with the help of some boats supplied by Egyptian soldiers, the invaders fell upon the opposing army drawn up on the other bank, and totally defeated them. The troops deserted Fustāt in a panic, and the women of the city, running out of their houses, implored the shērīf to intercede with the conqueror. Gawhar, like his master, always disposed to a politic leniency, renewed his former promises, and granted a complete amnesty to all who submitted. The overjoyed populace cut off the heads of some of the refractory leaders in their enthusiasm, and sent them to the camp in pleasing token of allegiance. A herald bearing a white flag rode through the streets of Fustāt proclaiming the amnesty and forbidding pillage, and on August 5 the Fāṭimid army, with full pomp of drums and banners, entered the capital.

That very night Gawhar laid the foundations of a new city, or rather fortified palace, destined for the reception of his sovereign. He was encamped on the sandy waste which stretched north-east of Fustât on the road to Heliopolis, and there, at a distance of about a mile from the river, he marked out the boundaries of the new capital. There were no buildings, save the old "Convent of the Bones," nor any cultivation except the beautiful park called "Kâfir's Garden," to obstruct his plans. A square, somewhat less than a mile each way, was pegged out with poles, and the Maghraïi astrologers, in whom Mo'izz reposed extravagant faith, consulted together to determine the auspicious moment for the opening ceremony. Bells were hung on ropes from pole to pole, and at the signal of the sages their ringing was to announce the precise moment when the labourers were to turn the first sod. The ejaculations of the astrologers were, however, anticipated by a raven, who perched on one of the ropes and set the bells jingling, upon which every maddock was struck into the earth and the trenches were opened. It was an unlucky hour: the planet Mars (el-Kâhir) was in the ascendant; but it could not be undone, and the place was accordingly named after the hostile planet, el-Kâhira, "the martial" or "triumphant," in the hope that the sinister omen might be turned to a triumphant issue.¹ Cairo, as Kâhira has come to be called, may fairly be said to have outlived all astrological prejudices. The name of the 'Abbâsid caliph was at once expunged from the Friday prayers at the old mosque of 'Amr at Fustât, the black 'Abbâsid robes were proscribed, and the preacher, in pure white, recited the khutba for

¹ Maqr, l. 384, adds that el-Kâhira was also named el-Manûrîya (probably after the city or suburb of Kayrawân built by the Fatimid el-Manûr, - see Lane's *Cairo*, 236). The name of el-Kâhira appears first on a coin in A.H. 301 (1003-4), with the epithet of *Manûsa*, "the guarded"; but does not recur until more than a century later, A.H. 508-22, when it has the form of *Manûya el-Kâhira*, "the triumphant city of Mû'na." The rare occurrence of the name is explained by the mire of the metropolis being still worked, as before, at Fustât. After the burning of Fustât in 1168 and the accession of Saladin, the coinage regularly bears the name of el-Kâhira (Cairo).

the Imam Mo'izz, emir el-mu'minin, and invoked blessings on his ancestors. 'Ali and Fâtima, and all their holy family. The call to prayer from the minarets was adapted to Shi'a taste. The joyful news was sent to the Fâtimid caliph on swift dromedaries, together with the heads of the slain. Coins were struck with the special formulas of the Fâtimid creed—" 'Ali is the noblest of [God's] delegates, the wear of the best of apostles"; "the Imam Ma'add calls men to profess the unity of the Eternal"—in addition to the usual dogmas of the Mohammadan faith. For two centuries the mosques and the minaret proclaimed the shibboleth of the Shi'a.

Gawhar set himself at once to restore tranquillity and alleviate the sufferings of the famine-stricken people. Mo'izz had providently sent grain-ships to relieve their distress, and as the price of bread nevertheless remained at famine rates, Gawhar publicly begged the milera, established a central corn-exchange, and compelled everyone to sell his corn there under the eye of a government inspector (*mohetib*). In spite of his efforts, the famine lasted for two years; plague spread alarmingly, inasmuch that the corpses could not be buried fast enough, and were thrown into the Nile; and it was not till the winter of 971-2 that plenty returned and the pest disappeared. As usual, the viceroy took a personal part in all public functions. Every Saturday he sat in court, assisted by the wear, Ibn-Furât, the *hâdî*, and skilled lawyers, to hear causes and petitions, and to administer justice. To secure impartiality, he appointed to every department of state an Egyptian and a Magrabi officer. His firm and equitable rule ensured peace and order; and the great palace he was building, and the new mosque, the Azhar, which he founded in 970 and finished in 972, not only added to the beauty of the capital, but gave employment to innumerable craftsmen.

The inhabitants of Egypt accepted the new régime with their habitual phlegm. An Ikhshidi officer in the Bashmâr district of Lower Egypt did, indeed, incite the people to rebellion, but his fate was not such as to encourage others. He was chased out of Egypt, captured on the

coast of Palestine, and then, it is gravely recorded, he was given sesame oil to drink for a month, till his skin stripped off, whereupon it was stuffed with straw and hung up on a beam, as a reminder to him who would be admonished. With this brief exception we read of no riots, no sectarian risings, and the general surrender was complete when the remaining partisans of the deposed dynasty, to the number of 2000, laid down their arms. An embassy sent to George, king of Nubia to invite him to embrace Islām, and to exact the customary tribute, was received with courtesy, and the money, but not the conversion, was arranged. The holy cities of Mekka and Medina in the Hijāz, where the gold of Morāz had been prudently distributed some years before, responded to his generosity and success by proclaiming his supremacy in the mosques; the Hamidid prince who held northern Syria paid similar homage to the Fātimid caliph at Aleppo, where the 'Abbasids had hitherto been recognized. Southern Syria, however, which had formed part of the Ikhshid's kingdom did not submit to the usurpers without a struggle. Huseyn was still independent at Hama and Gawhar's lieutenant, G'athar b. Felah, was obliged to give him battle. Huseyn was defeated and exposed bareheaded to the insults of the mob at Fustat, to be finally sent, with the rest of the family of Ikhshid, to a Barbary gail. Damascus, the home of orthodoxy, was taken by G'athar, not without a struggle, and the Fātimid doctrine was there published, to the indignation and disgust of the Sunni population.

A worse plague than the Fātimid conquest soon afflicted Syria. The Karmati leader, Hasan b. Ahmad, surnamed el-A'sam, finding the blackmail, which he had lately received out of the revenues of Damascus, suddenly stopped, resolved to extort it by force of arms. The Fātimids indeed sprang from the same movement, and their founder professed the same political and irreligious philosophy as Hasan himself; but this did not stand in his way, and his knowledge of their origin made him the less disposed to render homage to the sacred pretensions of the new Imāms, whom he contemptuously designated

as the spawn of the quack, charlatans, and enemies of Islām. He tried to enlist the support of the 'Abbasid caliph, but el-Muttī replied that Fāṭimids and Karmatis were all one to him, and he would have nothing to do with either. The Buweyhid prince of 'Irāk, however, supplied Hasan with arms and money: Abū-Taghlib, the Ḥamdānid ruler of Raḥba on the Euphrates, contributed men; and, supported by the Arab tribes of 'Okeyl, Tyy, and others, Hasan marched upon Damascus, where the Fāṭimids were routed, and their general, G'a'far, killed. Mo'izz was forthwith publicly cursed from the pulpit in the Syrian capital, to the qualified satisfaction of the inhabitants, who had to pay handsomely for the pleasure.

Hasan next marched to Ramla, and thence, leaving the Fāṭimid army of 11,000 men shut up in Jaffa, invaded Egypt. His troops surprised Kulzum at the head of the Red Sea, and Faramā (Pelusium) near the Mediterranean, at the two ends of the Egyptian frontier; Tinnis declared against the Fāṭimids, and Hasan appeared at Heliopolis (Ain Shems) in October, 971. G'awhar had already entrenched the new capital with a deep ditch, leaving but one entrance, which he closed with an iron gate. He armed the Egyptians, as well as the African troops, and a spy was set to watch the wazīr Ibn-Furāt, lest he should indulge in treachery. The sherifs of the family of 'Alī were summoned to the camp, as hostages for the good behaviour of the inhabitants. Meanwhile, the officers of the enemy were liberally tempted with bribes. Two months they lay before Cairo, and then, after an

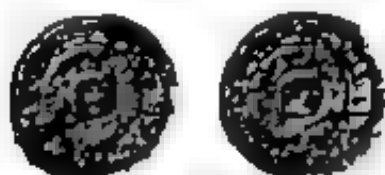


Fig. 21 — $\frac{1}{2}$ Dirḥm of el-Mo'izz,
Palestine, 974.

indecisive engagement, Hasan stormed the gate, forced his way across the ditch, and attacked the Egyptians on their own ground. The result was a severe repulse, and Hasan retreated under cover of night to Kulzum,

leaving his camp and baggage to be plundered by the Fāṭimids, who were only baulked of a sanguinary pursuit

by the intervention of night. The Egyptian volunteers displayed unexpected valour in the fight, and many of the partisans of the late dynasty, who were with the enemy, were made prisoners. Thus the serious danger, which went near to cutting short the Fātimid occupation of Egypt, was not only resolutely met, but even turned into an advantage. There was no more intriguing on behalf of the Ikhshīdids, Timnis was recovered from its temporary defection and occupied by the reinforcements which Mo'izz had hurriedly despatched under Ibn-'Ammār to the succour of Gawhar; and the Karmaṭi fleet, which attempted to recover this fort, was obliged to slip anchor, abandoning seven ships and 300 prisoners. Jaffa, which still held out resolutely against the besieging Arabs, was now relieved by the despatch of African troops from Cairo, who brought back the garrison, but did not dare to hold the post. The enemy fell back upon Damascus, and their leaders fell out among themselves.

The Karmaṭi chief was not crushed, however, by his defeat: in the following year he was collecting ships and Arabs for a fresh invasion. Gawhar, who had long urged his master to come and protect his conquest, now pointed out the extreme danger of a second attack from an enemy which had already succeeded in boldly forcing his way to the gate of Cairo. Mo'izz had delayed his journey, because he could not safely trust his western provinces in his absence; but on the receipt of this grave news, he appointed Yūsuf Bulugīn b. Zayrī, of the Berber tribe of Sanhāga, to act as his deputy in Barbary, left Sardāniya—the Fontainebleau of Kayrawān, as Manṣūriya was its Versailles—in November, 972, and making a leisurely progress, by way of Kābis, Tripolis, Agdābiya, and Barka, reached Alexandria in the following May. Here the caliph received a deputation, consisting of the kādī of Fustāt and other eminent persons, whom he moved to tears by his eloquent and virtuous discourse. A month²¹ later he was encamped in the gardens of the monastery near G'iza, where he was reverently welcomed by his

devoted servant, G'awhar, content to efface himself in his master's shadow.¹

The entry of the new caliph into his new capital was a solemn spectacle. With him were all his sons and brothers and kinsfolk, and before him were borne the coffins of his ancestors. Fustât was illuminated and decked for his reception; but Mo'izz would not enter the old capital of the usurping caliphs. He crossed from Rûda by G'awhar's new bridge, and proceeded direct to the palace-city of Cairo. Here he threw himself on his face and gave thanks to God.

There was yet an ordeal to be gone through before he could regard himself as safe. Egypt was the home of many undoubted sherifs or descendants of 'Alî, and these, headed by a representative of the distinguished Tabataba family, came boldly to examine his credentials. Mo'izz must prove his title to the holy Inâmât inherited from 'Alî, to the satisfaction of these experts in genealogy. According to the story, the caliph called a great assembly of the people, and invited the sherifs to appear; then, had drawing his sword, he said, "Here is my pedigree," and scattering gold among the spectators, added, "and there is my proof." It was perhaps the best argument he could produce. The sherifs could only protest their entire satisfaction at this convincing evidence; and it is at any rate certain that, whatever they thought of the caliph's claim, they did not contest it. The capital was placarded with his name and the praises of 'Alî, and Mo'izz was acclaimed by the people, who flocked to his first public audience. Among the presents offered him, that of G'awhar was especially splendid, and its costliness prepares one for the coming records of the colossal wealth of the Fâtimids. It included 500 horses with saddles and bridles encrusted with gold, amber, and precious stones;

¹ G'awhar appears to have taken no conspicuous part in the government or campaigns after the arrival of Mo'izz, and in Oct., 974, he was deprived of all his appointments. No quarrel is recorded, but Mo'izz probably felt that even perfect loyalty may not always counterbalance a dangerous popularity. We hear of the great kawî (general) again in the next reign.

tents of silk and cloth of gold, borne on Bactrian camels; dromedaries, mules, and camels of burthen; nigree coffers full of gold and silver vessels; gold-mounted swords; caskets of chased silver containing precious stones, a turban set with jewels, and 900 boxes filled with samples of all the goods that Egypt produced.

On the day of the 'Id, or festival after the fast (the Turkish *Buram*), the caliph himself performed the prayers at the head of the congregation of the people, and then delivered the *khutba* from the pulpit. He valued himself on his sacerdotal talents, and his unction on this occasion touched all hearts. When the ceremony was over, Mo'izz returned to the palace at the head of his troops, escorted by his four sons in armour, preceded by two elephants, and gave a banquet to his guests. This palace, almost a city, the nucleus of the modern Cairo was built, as we have seen, at some little distance from the old capital Fustât, and, though sometimes called *el-Midina*, 'the city,' was really an immense royal castle, reserved exclusively for the use of the caliph and his multitudinous harim and household, his guard, his choice regiments, and his government officers. The broad enclosure of the castle was forbidden ground to the public, and even ambassadors from foreign powers—the eastern emperor had sent envoys to Gawhar and also to Mo'izz—were required to dismount outside and were led into the presence between guards in the same manner as at the Byzantine and Ottoman courts. "The chief buildings were the Great East Palace (or Palace of Mo'izz), the caliph's personal residence, where he kept his women, children, slaves, eunuchs, and servants, estimated at from eighteen to thirty thousand in number; and the Lesser West Palace, or pleasure-house, which opened on the spacious garden of Kifâr, where a meydân or hippodrome provided exercise for the court. The two were separated by the square called 'Between the Palaces' (*Beyn-el-Kasreyn*), where as many as ten thousand troops could parade; the name is still preserved in part of the *Suk-en-Nahhâsin* or Copper-smiths' Market.

An underground passage connected the two palaces, by which the caliph could pass without violating that mysterious seclusion which was part of his sacred character. Hard by were the mausoleum where lay the

bones of his Fâtimid ancestors, brought from far Kayrawân, and the mosque, el - Azhar, where the caliph was wont to lead the Friday prayers as Prince and Precentor of the Faithful.

"Of the size and splendour of the Great Palace the Arabic historians speak with bated breath. We read of four thousand chambers;—of the Golden Gate which opened to the Golden Hall, a gorgeous pavilion where the caliph, seated on his golden throne, surrounded by his chamberlains and gentlemen in waiting (generally Greeks or Sūdānīs), surveyed from behind a screen of golden filigree the festivals of Islām;—of the Emerald Hall with its beautiful pillars of marble;—the Great Divan, where he sat on Mondays and Thurs-

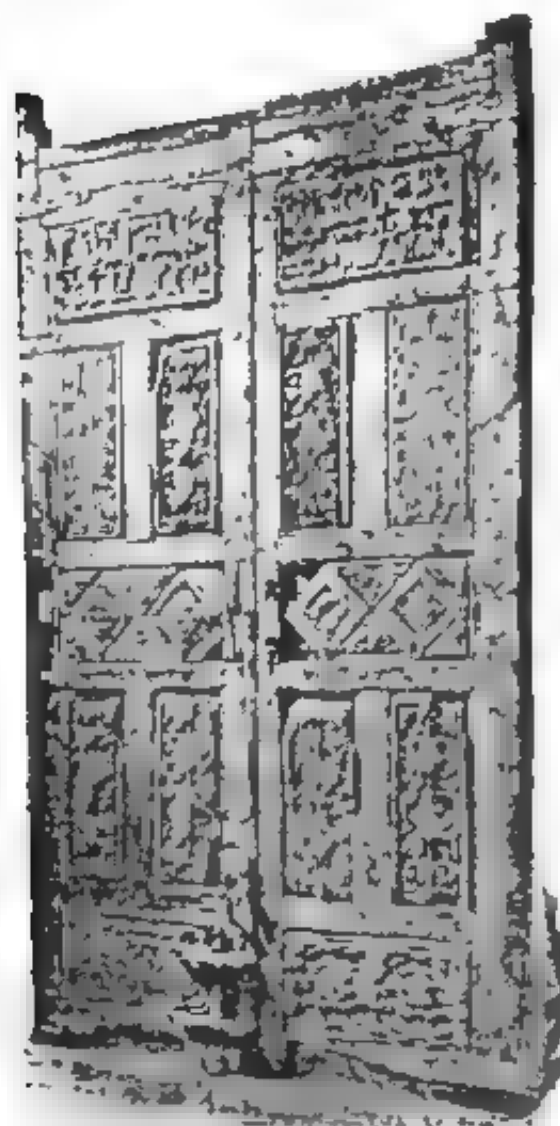


Fig. 22.—Door of el-Azhar mosque, 972.

days at a window beneath a cupola;—and the Porch where he listened every evening while the oppressed and

wronged came below and cried the *credo* of the Shi'a till he heard their griefs and gave redress."¹

This description applies to the Fātimid Palace of later times, but it is true in the main of the Kālura of Mo'izz. The buildings had all been planned by himself, to the smallest detail, and G'awhar had laboured for more than three years to realize his sovereign's designs. The profusion of wealth and costly magnificence of the court may be gathered from many indications. One of the daughters of Mo'izz left at her death five sacks of emeralds and a prodigious amount of precious stones of all sorts, 3,000 chased and inlaid silver vessels, 30,000 pieces of Sicilian embroidery, and 80 basins and ewers of pure crystal: forty pounds of wax were used in sealing her rooms and chests. Another daughter died worth 2,700,000*D.*, and left 12,000 different dresses. Her wife built a mosque in the Kerāfa, and lavished large sums on its decoration: a Persian architect designed it, and artists from Bāzra painted the ceilings and walls. Mo'izz himself commanded a piece of silk to be made at Tustar in Persia, representing in gold and colours a map of the world which cost him 22,000*D.* If the Fātimid heresy discouraged learning and literature, it stimulated art; and the prejudice against the representation of living things, which cramped orthodox painters, did not influence the work of the schematics, who readily adopted Persian ideas. The Fātimid wezir el-Yāzuri (see p. 142) pitted two painters of 'Irāk against each other: one, el-Kasir, painted a dancing girl in white dress, who seemed to retreat within a black arch, and his rival Ibn-'Asir made his girl in crimson appear to come out of the yellow arch behind her.² Such a design would not have been tolerated by an 'Abbāsid caliph. There is no doubt that great artistic activity prevailed under the Fātimid rule, which was developed in Sicily as well as in Egypt. The famous Bayeux ivory casket, with its chased silver inlay repre-

¹ Lane-Poole, *Life of Saladin*, 112-114.

² Makrisi, *Kawakir*. Cp. Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, 9, 16, 163, 201, 241.

senting parrots and other birds, has a Fatimid inscription, and an ivory box dated 970, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is probably due to their workmen. A rock crystal vase in the treasury of St. Mark at Venice bears the name of el-'Aziz, the son of Mo'izz. Pottery, with metallic lustre, and glass, were worked, and the looms of Egypt were renowned. Alexandria and Cairo manufactured silks so fine that a whole robe could be passed through a finger ring, Asyût was famous for its woollen turban cloth, Behnesa for white woollens. Debek for silks, Damietta, of course, for dimiti; and at Tinnis, where the products of the royal factory were wholly reserved for the Fatimid household, they made besides cambric the beautiful iridescent stuff called *Batalamm*, or "chameleon," used for royal saddle cloths and litter. Besides native manufactures, the artistic work of Persia, Asia Minor, and Sicily was in high demand in Cairo.

Mo'izz, however, was no sybarite, and he combined with a love of beautiful things a watchful alertness to the preservation and development of his power. He had inherited a fleet in Sicily, which raided the coast of Spain in 955 and brought away booty and prisoners. The caliph of Cordova, the great Naïr, retorted by sending his ships to Tunis, where they had burnt a small port near Bona and ravaged the Barbary coast. The possession of the Egyptian harbours led to larger naval plans. A dock was built at Mass, the predecessor of Bûlak at port of Cairo, and six hundred ships were built there—the largest fleet Egypt had seen since the Arab conquest.¹ The army was carefully maintained in a high state of efficiency, nor did the caliph neglect any means to win the esteem of his new subjects. His tribunals were renowned for equity, he took a personal interest in all details of administration, proclaimed the height of the inundation as registered in the Nilometers, presided over the cutting of the Cairo khalig or canal, and delighted the people by the splendid gold-embroidered silk covering (*shamsiya*) which he

¹ See below, p. 121, note.

prepared for the Ka'ba at Mekka, and which all the world was admitted to see on the Feast of Sacrifice. It was four times as big as any cover ordered by the 'Abbāsids, or even by Kāfir. Evidently, the people thought, this caliph was a model of magnificent piety.

Meanwhile the threatened invasion of the Karmatīs still lingered. They had made an attempt upon Tinnis, which failed, but no farther movements had taken place. Mo'izz endeavoured to negotiate with their chief, but in reply to a conciliatory epistle Hasan merely wrote:—
 "From Hasan b. Ahmad el'Asam. I have received thy letter, full of words, but empty of sense. I will bring my answer." He was as good as his word, and in the spring of 974 the Karmatīs appeared again at 274 Heliopolis, and then, joined by partisans of the Ikshidids and by rival 'Alids, spread over all parts of Egypt in a wave of devastation. Mo'izz was prepared for them, but his forces were unequal to the defence. His son 'Abdallah with 4,000 men had some successful engagements with scattered bodies of the enemy in the delta, but could not prevent the main body closing upon Cairo, where they drove the defenders over the trench into "the city." Pent up within the walls, the caliph's troops were unable to make head against the Arabs, until Mo'izz contrived to bribe the chief of the Beni-Tayy, the strongest ally of the Karmatīs, with 100,000 *D.*, manufactured for the purpose of lead, gilt, since there was not enough gold in the treasury. The treacherous Bedawi deserted his leader in the next battle; Hasan was forced to fly, his camp was taken and plundered, and 1500 of his camp followers were massacred. Ten thousand men were soon despatched into Syria, where the Karmatīs were fortunately weakened by the jealousies of their two leaders, one of whom delivered the other into the hands of the Fātimid, who put him and his son in wooden cages and sent them to Egypt. The Karmatī plague was stayed, but Damascus was a prey to faction and disorder for some years. The eunuch Kaykā, who had conquered Tripolis from the Romans for Mo'izz, and 275 was now sent to Damascus, was unable to hold the city

against the Turkish emir Aftegin, who restored the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph, and gave the Syrian capital and the surrounding province some measure of peace and good government. Meanwhile another eunuch had taken Bevrūt with the Fātimid troops, and this loss brought Tzimisce to Syria. Aftegin at once paid him homage and made a treaty; but Rayān sallied out of Tripolis and administered a crushing defeat, and the Roman retreated.

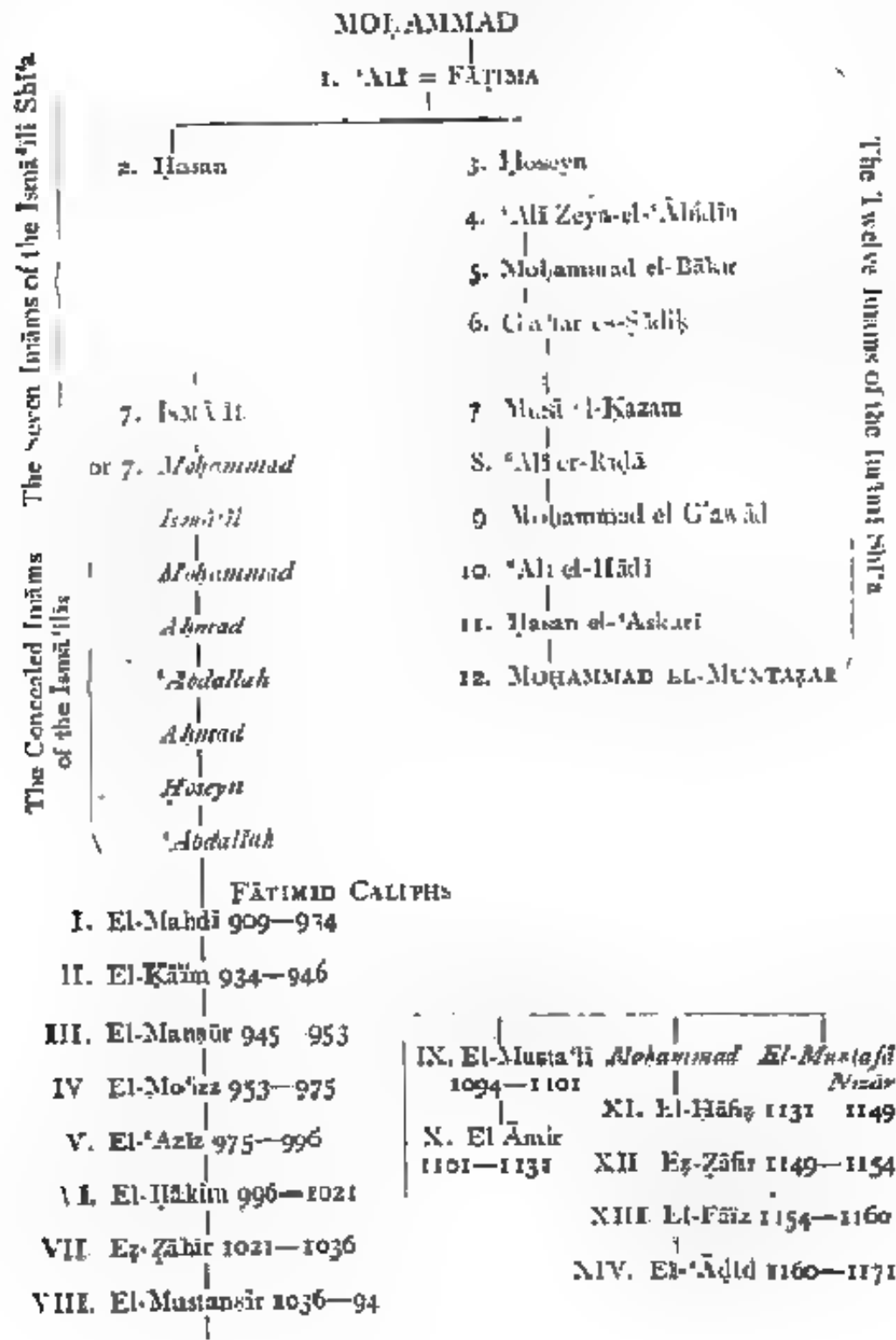
- 971 The news of this victory and the tidings that his name was again recited in the prayers at Mekka and Medina lightened the last days of the caliph Mo'izz, who died about Christmas, 975, in his forty sixth year¹. His two years' residence at Cairo had been marked by many reforms. He had appointed the Jew Ibn-Killis and 'Aslug as general land administrators, and abolished at one stroke the petty powers and profits of the collectors and farmers of the taxes. These two officers sat daily in the office of the emirate, adjoining the mosque of Ibn-Julan, fixing the tithes and assessments of lands, and superintending the taxes, customs, tithes, poll-tax, wakfi, and all branches of revenue, calling up arrears, and examining scrupulously all complaints and demands. The result was a large increase in revenue. All taxes had to be paid in the current Fātimid coinage, and the Mo'izzi dinar, reckoned at 12½ dirhems, completely ousted the 'Abbāsid dinar of the Ikhshidids, to the considerable loss of the inhabitants. The taxes moreover were collected rigorously, for Mo'izz was eager to recover the immense sum he had spent on the conquest of Egypt, which so far had not answered his expectations of a gold mine. Nevertheless, in a single day the taxes at Bustat amounted to 50,000 *D.*, and sometimes as much as 100,000 *D.*; and once Tinnis, Damietta, and Ushmuneyn contributed 200,000 *D.* in a day.

In his brief management of his mixed subjects in Egypt Mo'izz displayed judgment and justice. He forbade his

¹ His eldest son 'Abdalīh predeceased him by about a year, but three sons, Azzar, Temim, and 'Okyl, with seven daughters, survived.

African troops to interfere with the residents in the capital, and settled them at el-Khandak near Heliopolis, to prevent broils. They could not be kept out of Fustat by day, but every evening a crier went round to warn them to leave the city before dark. To the Copts Mo'izz was not ill-disposed, and one of them was appointed to the head of the customs, first in Egypt and afterwards in Palestine, and was held in high favour by the caliph. Indeed the only sectarian trouble he had was of his own importing. The Sai'a were naturally much set up by the Fātimid successes, and they celebrated the martyrdom of Hoseyn on the 10th of Moharram—a day dreaded by the police even now in Bombay—with unwonted publicity at Cairo in 973, visited the tombs of the lady Nefisa and Kulthūm, of the holy family, in vast crowds, and insulted the Sunnī shop-people in the exuberance of their zeal. Street fights were prevented by the timely closing of the gates which separated the various quarters. The incident shows that the Shi'a revolution was still resented by a considerable section of the population, and we shall see that even two centuries later the restoration of orthodoxy was effected with surprising unanimity.

THE ALLEGED DESCENT OF THE FĀTIMID CALIPHS FROM THE
PROPHET MOHAMMAD



CHAPTER V

THE FĀTIMID CALIPHS

Authorities.—G'emāl-ed-din el-Haafī, *Al-Fihrist*, II, el-Akhbār, I, el-Khalafā, I, el-Khalafā, el-Khalafā, el-Khalafā, Wustenfeld, *Gesch. d. Islamischen Welt*, Quatremere, *His. des Calif. Fatim.*

Monuments.—Mosques, el-Akhbār (970-2), el-Akhbār (1003-1003), and Guyūth (1003), second wall of Cairo (1003), and three gates of Nair, Fulk (1003), and Zawila (1003), mosque el-Akhbār (1003), el-Akhbār (1003), el-Akhbār (1003), el-Akhbār (1003).

Inscriptions.—Fahmī's inser. in Akhbar, II, kum (disappeared, but recorded by Hammer, *Journ. As.*, III, v. 388), on Kib-en-Nair, second wall of Cairo, chapel of Sultā Nefīsa, Nefīsa, mosque of Idris, restoration inser.), rock at Kuluwa, near Damascus. (Van Berchem, *Notes, Journ. As.*, 1801, and *Corpus Inser. arab.*; Kay, *J. R. A. S.*, 1801, 1802).

Coin.—Vints, in Egypt: Misr (Fustāt), el-Kāhira (Cairo), (1003-4 1114 A.), Alexandria, Kūs (1123-4); in Africa (Tunisia), el-Mahdiyya, el-Mahdiyya (to 1064); Zawila; Sicily (to 1054); Mecca (976-7), Medina (1061) in Syria, Hama (Ranik), Damascus (to 1067), 'Aska, Ascalon, Latakia, Tripoli, Tyre, Aleppo (1050-5).

Glass Weights. These bear the names of all the caliphs, and sometimes dates, and are very numerous (Lane Poole *Cat. As. Mus.*, Cassinova, *Coll. Fouquet*).

THE Fātimid rule established in Egypt by Mo'izz subsisted for two centuries by no merits of the rulers nor any devotion of their subjects. Most of the caliphs were absorbed in their own pleasures, and the government devolved on wezirs, who were frequently changed in accordance with their sovereigns' or the army's constant demand for more money and the ministers' success or failure in satisfying it. Most of the wezirs were bent mainly on money-getting. No great ideas, no ambitious schemes found a place in their policy. The empire, which in the days of Mo'izz included the whole of north Africa, Sicily, Syria, and the Hīgāz soon sank to little

more than Egypt proper. The African provinces, from mere tributary connexion, passed in 1026 to frank independence, and reverted to their old allegiance (however nominal) to the caliphs of Baghdad. Syria was always loosely held, and was the scene of frequent rebellions and civil wars.¹ In Arabia alone the Fātimids acquired an increased influence, not by any effort of their own, but by the Shi'a propaganda which went on independently of their leading. In Egypt itself their power rested upon no equitable basis, nor upon any general adhesion to the Shi'a doctrines or their disputed pedigree, which was repeatedly refuted by Shi'a and Sunni theologians;² their throne was founded upon fear and sustained by the terror of their foreign legions. The Berber troops, constantly recruited from their birthplace in the west, the Turkish mercenaries renewed by purchase or volunteering from the east, the bloody and sensual Sūdāns from the south, these were the bulwarks of the Egyptian caliphate and the sole cause of its longevity. Yet even in face of such a military tyranny, it may be questioned whether any people but the patient Egyptians would have submitted so long to an intolerable yoke.

The beginning, it is true, of this long oppression gave no promise of its coming burden. El-'Aziz,³ the son of Mo'izz (975—990), who succeeded his father in Decem-

¹ The vicissitudes of the Fātimid rule in Syria are reserved for the next chapter.

² There were at least three formal repudiations of their pretended descent from the Prophet, drawn up at Baghdad, signed by celebrated doctors of the law of all schools, and circulated in Syria, and even communicated to the Fātimid caliphs themselves.

³ Full name and title: el Imām Nāṣir Abū Maṣār el-'Azīz bi'llah ("the mighty through God") amīr-el-mu'mīnīn (commander of the faithful). His coins were issued at Misr (Fustat) A.H. 305 (970)—386 (996); Palestine (Ramla) 364—383; el-Maṣrūṭa, 370—382, and el Mansuriya in Africa, 367—386; Sicily, 366—377; Tripolis, in Syria, 374, and Meḥḥa 376. The Aḥṣā' coinage is continuous every year, but the coinage at the other mints seems to have been issued at irregular intervals when required. The same remark applies to later Fātimid issues. The coinage that has come down to us is almost entirely of gold, but the silver currency, though nearly destroyed, must have been very large.

ber, 975, but was not formally proclaimed till the Feast of Sacrifice in August, 976, was an excellent ruler. Big, brave, and comely in person—though with reddish hair and blue eyes, always feared by Arabs—a bold hunter and a fearless general, he was of a humane and conciliatory disposition, loth to take offence, and averse from

bloodshed. The tendency of the Fātimid creed (or policy) was towards toleration or indifference in regard to religion and race; but in the case of 'Aziz a special influence was exerted by a Christian wife, the mother, strange to

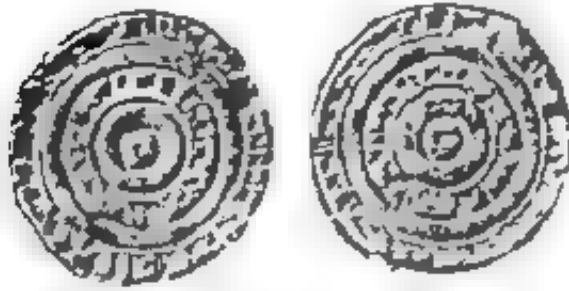


Fig. 23.—Dirham of el- 'Aziz, Misr, 976.

say, of the monster Hākīm. Her two brothers were appointed Melekite patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, by the caliph's express though irregular command, and the Christians never enjoyed so much toleration as under his rule. The Coptic patriarch Ephraim stood in high favour at his court, and obtained leave to rebuild the ruined church of Abū-s-Seyteyn (St Mercurius) outside Fustāt, and the opposition of the Muslims, who had turned it into a sugar warehouse, was summarily suppressed by the caliph.¹ With the catholicity or speculative curiosity characteristic of the Fātimids, 'Aziz encouraged Severus, the bishop of Ushimuneyn, to discuss points of doctrine with the Muslim divines, such as the famous kādī Ibn-en-No'mān, president of the prayers and director of the mint and of weights and measures for fourteen years, and the caliph even refused to persecute a Muslim who turned Christian, though apostasy was punishable by death. His generosity extended to his enemies, he knew how to respect a brave man, and when the gallant Turk sh

¹ Abū Šālih, ff. 346—36.

leader Aftegin, who had raised all Syria against him and even out-generalled the veteran Gāwhar, was betrayed into his hands, the caliph gave him a high post at court and loaded him with rewards for his valour in the field.

For the first fifteen years of his reign the caliph's chief minister or wazīr was the converted Jew, Ibn-Kullis, who had served Mo'izz well and became the right hand of his son. It was largely due to this man's prudent statesmanship that Egypt enjoyed a long period of perfect tranquillity, and that the treasury overflowed with wealth. Another high official, who also became wazīr for the last two years of the reign, was the Christian 'Isa b. Nestorius; and a Jew, Matasseh, was at one time chief secretary in Syria. These appointments naturally gave offence to the Muslims, who found themselves in the odd situation of being worse off under a Mohammedan sovereign than were the "infidels." Poets wrote sarcastic verses, and remonstrances were thrust into the caliph's hands as he rode through the streets. He attempted to pacify his too zealous subjects by removing the obnoxious officials from their posts; but in the case of Ibn-Nestorius, at least, harem influence was too strong, and the caliph's beloved and capable daughter, the Princess Royal (Sevvidet-el-mulk), obtained the Christian's restitution. In truth, 'Azz could not do without the help of these able servants, who were evidently superior to their Muslim colleagues in business capacity. When Ibn-Kullis was thrown into prison for poisoning, out of mere jealousy, the Turkish favourite Aftegin, his master misused his counsels so much that in forty days he was restored to office. A similar degradation of the same wazīr in the following year (1083) was followed by an almost equally speedy restoration. Firm and just administration, backed by a powerful army, no doubt reconciled the Muslim population in some degree to what they regarded as an unnatural preference; but their dissatisfaction was always ready to break into active hostility on provocation. During the war with the emperor Basil in 996, for which 'Azz had built a fine fleet of 600 sail, eleven of his largest vessels lying in the harbour of Māds on the

Nile (then the port of Cairo), were set on fire, and the sailors and mob, ascribing the disaster to the Greek inhabitants of the neighbourhood, massacred many of them, plundered their goods, and played ball with their heads. Order was promptly restored, however, and in three months the energy of Ibn Nestorius produced six new vessels of the first class.¹

Able as these ministers were, they shared with their master an inordinate love of wealth and luxury. Ibn-Killis, who died in 991, enjoyed a salary of 100,000 *D.*,² and left a princely fortune in lands, houses, shops, slaves, horses, furniture, robes, and jewels, valued at four million dinars, besides his daughter's dowry of 200,000 *D.* He kept 500 harem women, besides servants and his body-guard consisted of 4000 young men white and black. His house, the "Palace of the Wezirs" was fortified and isolated like a castle. His choice carrier pigeons outstripped the caliph's own. Aziz himself attended his funeral (which was as sumptuous as his daily life), and supplied the embalming materials, camphor and musk, and rosewater, and fifty gorgeous robes for the shrouding of the corpse. Mounted on a mule, and rejecting the usual paradox of state, the caliph rode slowly to the house of his faithful counsellor, and standing before the bier, weeping, said the prayers for the dead, and with his own hand set the stone to the entrance of the tomb. For three days he kept no table and received no guests. Eighteen days the offices of government remained closed, and no business was done. For a month the grave was a place of pilgrimage, where poets recited the virtues of the departed, at the caliph's expense, and a legion of Koran-readers chanted the sacred book day and night. Slave girls stood beside with silver cups and spoons to minister creature comforts of wine and sweetmeats to the crowd of mourning or interested visitors. The

¹ Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who in 1046 saw seven of the galleys of Mo'izz drawn up on the bank of the Nile, where they had been beached on the evening three quarters of a century before, says that they measured 150 cubits long by 60 in the beam (*Safer Nâma*, ed. Schöfer, 116). This would probably represent about 275 ft. by 110 ft.

caliph freed all the mamûks of the deceased vezir, paid his outstanding debts, and arranged for the salaries and maintenance of his vast household. In contrast to this display, when a year later the great general G'awhar died, in the comparative obscurity of his later years, one reads only of a present of 5000 *D.* from the caliph to his family in token of regard.

'Aziz himself set the example of luxury which makes the records of Fatimid wealth almost incredible to those who do not realise the oriental passion for gewgaws. The caliph was a connoisseur in precious stones and articles of *riq'a*¹. A number of fashionable novelties are ascribed by the historian Genâ'ed-din of Aleppo² to this reign, such as the heavy gold-embroidered many-coloured turbans sixty yards long, made of the costly fabrics woven at the royal factories of Debik; robes and coverings of the 'Azzabi (aby) cloth of Bagdad, or the coloured stuffs of Ramla and Tiberias, or Cairo *sablâûn*, horse housings set with jewels and scented with ambergris, to cover armour inlaid with gold. The luxury of the person was matched by the luxury of the table. Fish were brought fresh from the sea to Cairo, a thing unknown before, truffles were eagerly sought a few miles from Mukattam and sold in the markets in such quantities that from choice dainties they became cheap and common. The love of rarities brought strange animals and birds to Cairo, female elephants, which the Nubians had carefully reserved were at length introduced for breeding, and a stuffed rhinoceros delighted the astonished crowd. These novelties were secured at a cost which made heavy demands on the treasury, and could be met only by rigorous financial control. 'Aziz kept a tight hand over his exchequer, and strictly forbade all bribes and presents, nothing could be paid without a written order. The money was not all spent upon luxuries, however. His reign saw many archi-

¹ A crystal vase in the treasure of St. Mark at Venice is said to bear the name of el-'Aziz; cp. the St. Denis vase in the Louvre, and see Lane Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, 163, Mak'izî, I. 409 ff., etc.

² Extract in Wüstenfeld, 162-4.

tectural and engineering triumphs at Cairo, such as the Golden Palace, the Pearl Pavilion, his mother's mosque in the Kerāfa cemetery, the foundation in 991 of the great mosque known as el-Hākim's (then outside the Bab-en-Naṣr), some important canals, bridges, and naval docks. 'Aziz was a man of orderly mind, and introduced many reforms in ceremonies and management. He was the first to make processions in state every Friday in Rawaḍān, the month of fasting, and to perform the prescribed service in the presence of the people as their high-priest; the first to give fixed salaries to his servants and retainers, and to supervise their liveryes; the first of his family to adopt the disastrous policy of importing and favouring Turkish troops. With all his shrewdness and no inconsiderable culture, and a turn for poetry, he fancied himself a sooth-sayer—indeed, it was part of the Fātimid pretension to know the unknown—and exposed himself to some ridicule on this score. He once went out of his way to satirize the Omayyad caliph of Cordova in an insulting letter, but received the crushing retort, "You ridicule us because you have heard of us: if we had ever heard of you, we should reply." Nevertheless 'Aziz was the wisest and most beneficent of all the Fātimid caliphs of Egypt. The unbroken rest which the country enjoyed is his best witness; and though Africa was loosening its ties to Egypt, and Syria was only held down by force of arms, the name of 'Aziz was prayed for in the mosques from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, in the Yemen, in the sanctuary of Mekka,¹ and once (992) even in the pulpit of Mōsil. A complication of agonizing disorders carried off this great ruler at Bilbers, October 996, after a touching interview² with his little son, in happy ignorance, despite his prophetic fancy, of the evil which the boy would work in the kingdom his father had so carefully nursed.

El-Hākim,³ (996—1021), the only son of this prudent

¹ A coin of A.H. 366 (976-7) struck at Mekka bears the name of 'Aziz (B.M. Cat., iv., p. ix.).

² See Ibn-Khalikān, iii. 529.

³ El-Mansūr Abū-'Alī el-Hākim bi-amri-llāh ("ruling by God's

father and Christian mother, was but eleven years old when 'Aziz fell dead in his bath at Bilbeys. The emir Bargawān fetched him out of a fig tree, and hastily setting



Fig. 24.—1. Dinar of el-Hakim
No. 19. 1004.

the jewelled turban on his head, brought him forth to the people, who kissed the ground before their new Imām. Next day, lance in hand, and sword hanging from the shoulder, the little boy followed the camel, that bore his father's remains back to Cairo;

and the day after he was solemnly enthroned in the great palace in the presence of the whole Court, marshalled in order of rank. For the first few years he was naturally kept in a state of tutelage. His governor (ustād), appointed by 'Aziz, was the Slav eunuch Bargawān, whose name is still commemorated in one of the streets of Cairo; the Maghrabi (Berber) Ibn-'Amrār was given the command of the troops, with the title of "intermediary" (el Wāsī) and the surname Amin ed dawla ("warden of the realm"); whilst the Christian Ibn-Nestorius continued to control the finances until his summary execution. The Berber general was practically regent, and used his power to promote the interests of his own tribe, the Kikāma, and to subordinate the Turkish party

command"). His coins were struck at Nise, el-Manḡūriya, el-Mahūṭa, Lavla (once), Sicily, Damascus, Hama (Kamia), Tyre (once), Irbid (once), and once at Cairo with the epithet "guariled" (el-kāfir el Maṭrūṭ). The glass weights (for testing dinars and dirhems, and their fractions and multiples) bearing el-Hakim's name, and sometimes a date, are numerous.

¹ He was the first Maghrabi to receive an honorific surname in Egypt. The practice of inventing special designations and titles for wezirs, popular with this pompous dynasty, dates from this time. Examples are the title of "Generalissimo" (kād el-Kawwād) given to Bargawān's successor el-Hawry, the son of G'awhar, Saḥb of Rith-bār was sayyid Thikar ihkāl as-sayf wal-kilām, "trusty of the trusty of the pen and the sword"; Ibn 'Ardin, al Kāfi, "the efficient"; Zura' the son of Ibn Nestorius, waḥ Shafi, "the solitary"; o. Hawry b. Tāḥw, Amin el Ummā, "faithful of the faithful"; 'Alī b. G'āfar el Fidiḥ, Dhā-l-Riyāṭayn, "he of the two departments," etc. From 1137, the wezirs of the Fātimids took the title of malik, "king."

imported by 'Aziz. The Berbers accordingly waxed insolent, plundered and ill-treated the Egyptians, and fought the Turkish soldiery in the streets. It became a struggle between east and west, and the east won. The Kitāma were beaten and disgraced, Ibn-'Anmār was deprived of his office; the Turks sacked his palace, and when he ventured to come to court, they cut him down and presented his head to the delighted young caliph.

Bargawān, who had hitherto lived quietly in the palace, protecting his ward, now became regent, and intoxicated by sudden power and riches abandoned himself entirely to pleasure. He passed his time agreeably in the society of singers, listening to the music he loved, in the Pearl Palace which 'Aziz had built near the bridge-gate, overlooking the beautiful gardens of Kāfār on the one hand, and on the other commanding a view over the canal to the Nile and the pyramids. Immersed in pleasure he lost all count of power. Hākim, left without control, began to assert himself and despise his governor, who, tutor-like, had called his pupil names. Very soon the boy began his career of bloodshed by having Bargawān assassinated. The people, shocked at the death of the popular chief, crowded threateningly to the palace; but the caliph put them off with lies and appealed to them to support him in his helpless youthfulness. The mob dispersed, and a dangerous crisis was over. It was a lesson in deportment that Hākim did not forget.

As the young caliph came more before the public, the eccentricities of his character began to appear. His strange face, with its terrible blue eyes, made people shrink; his big voice made them tremble. His tutor had called him "a lizard," and he had a creepy slippery way of gliding among his subjects that explained the nickname. He had a passion for darkness, would summon his council to meet at night, and would ride about the streets on his grey ass night after night, spying into the ways and opinions of the people under pretence of inspecting the market weights and measures. Night was turned into day by his command. All business and

catering was ordered to take place after sunset. The shops had to be opened and the houses illuminated to serve his whim, and when the poor people overdid the thing and began to frolic in the unwonted hours, repressive orders were issued; women forbidden to leave their homes, and men to sit in the booths. Shoemakers were ordered to make no outdoor boots for women, so that they might not have the wherewithal to stir abroad, and the ladies of Cairo were not only enjoined on no account to allow themselves to be seen at the lattice windows, but might not even take the air on the flat roofs of their houses. Stringent regulations were issued about food and drink. Hakim was a zealous abstainer, as all Muslims are expected to be. Beer was forbidden, wine was confiscated, vines cut down, even dried raisins were contraband; malkhah (Jews' or Hws) was not to be eaten, and honey was seized and poured into the Nile. Games, such as the Egyptian chess, were prohibited, and the chessboards burnt. Dogs were to be killed wherever found in the streets, but the finest cattle could not be slaughtered save at the Feast of Sacrifice. Those who ventured to disobey these decrees were scourged and beheaded, or put to death by some of the novel forms of torture which the ingenious caliph delighted in inventing. A good many of these novel regulations were no doubt inspired by a genuine reforming spirit, but it was the spirit of a mad reformer. The lively ladies of Cairo have always needed a tight hand over them, but who could expect to restrain a woman by confiscating her boots? The prohibition of intoxicating liquors, gambling, and public amusements, was in keeping with the character of a sour and bitter Puritan, and were doubtless intended as much to improve the morals as to vex the souls of his subjects. But the nightly wanderings, the needless restrictions and harassing regulations concerning immaterial details, were signs of an unbalanced mind. Hakim may have meant well according to his lights, but his lights were strangely prismatic.

During the first ten years of the reign the Christians and Jews enjoyed the immunity and even privileges

which they had obtained under the tolerant rule of 'Aziz; but as time went on they came in for their share of irrational persecution.' In public they were forced to wear black robes by way of livery, and in the baths, where one man without clothes is very like another, the naked Christians were compelled to distinguish themselves by wearing large and heavy crosses, while the Jews had to wear bells, or in the streets display a wooden image of a calf, in pleasing allusion to a discreditable episode in their early history. Next, a general order was issued for the destruction of all the Christian churches in Egypt, and the confiscation of their lands and property: the work of demolition went on for at least five years (1007—12). The Christians were offered the choice of

becoming Muslims, or leaving the country or else wearing a heavy cross as a badge of their degradation. Many Christians, especially among the peasantry, to escape persecution, accepted the Moham-madan religion; and the office where the

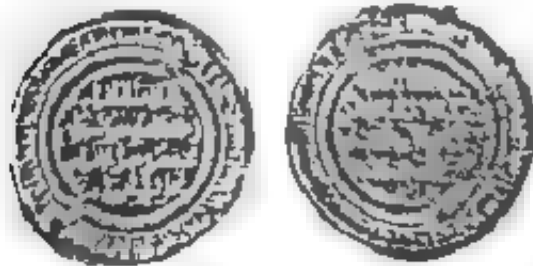


Fig. 25.—Dinār of el-Hākīm, M 97, 1015.

declarations of conversion were received on two days in the week was besieged with applications, insomuch that some of these eager proselytes were trampled to death in the crush. Such as remained true to their faith were subjected to various humiliations, and forbidden to ride horses, to keep Muslim servants, to be rowed by Muslim boatmen, or to purchase slaves.¹

¹ The caliph was said to have been excited against the Christians by a monk in revenge for the patriarch's refusal of a bishopric. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.*, 388.

² Some of these restrictions were scarcely oppressive. The Christians seem to have voluntarily adopted the black dress two centuries before (Abū-Šālih, §22), and riding horses had become the mark of the soldier. Hākīm himself rode an ass. The purchase of slaves by Christians can only mean the purchase of Christian slaves.

The penalties inflicted upon Christians, however, were more a part of a general contempt of mankind than a sign of special dislike to one section. Whilst these very orders were being issued, Christians were still appointed to the highest offices, in virtue, no doubt, of their superior fiscal capacity. Ibn-'Abdūn, the wezir who had to sign the decree for the demolition of the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, was a Christian; and his successor was another Christian, "the Trusty" Zur'a, the son of the aged ex-wezir Ibn-Nestorius, who died in 1012. It is true their "path of glory led but to the grave." Hakkīm's wezirs, whether Christian or Muslim, were murdered with scrupulous impartiality. Fahd, a Muslim prime-minister, was made away with in 1003, and his successor was executed a month later; Ibn-'Abdūn was killed in 1010, and in the same year the generalissimo Huseyn, the son of G'awhar, after being degraded and obliged to fly then restored to office and apparent favour, was foully murdered in the palace by his treacherous sovereign, after every assurance of protection. Officials were tortured and killed like flies; arms were hacked off, tongues cut out, every kind of barbarity inflicted. A special department of government, the *dimān misfirid*, was established for the management of the confiscated property of murdered and disgraced officials.

The deadly freaks of the caliph were most acutely felt at Cairo, but his fantastic orders ran throughout his dominions and all Egypt suffered. Three years of low Nile increased the distress, and were taken as God's judgment for the wickedness of the times. It was no wonder that an adventurer was able to raise the country and defy the Fātimid armies for two years. A member of the royal Omayyad family, flying from Spain, set himself up as caliph, and winning the adhesion of the Beni-Kurra Arabs and of the Kūfama Berbers, who had never forgiven their humiliation at the hands of the Turks in Cairo, obtained possession of Barṣa, defeated the Fātimid troops sent against him, and over-

ran Egypt. Abû-Rakwa,¹ "the father of the leather bottle," as he was called, from the waterskin he carried after the manner of the dervishes,

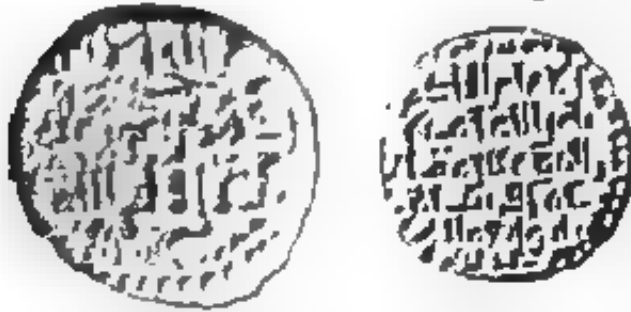


Fig. 26.—Glass weight of el-Hakim, 1017

worsted the caliph's army again at G'iza, and camping beside the pyramids kept Cairo

in a fever of alarm. When at last he was crushed in a bloody battle, and captured in Nubia, his head and 30,000 skulls of his followers were sent in procession through all the towns of Syria on the backs of a hundred camels, and then thrown into the Euphrates. The general Faql, who had rid the caliph of this rival, reaped an ill reward for his service. He had the misfortune to enter the royal presence when Hâkim was busily engaged in cutting up the body of a beautiful little child whom he had just murdered with his own knife. El-Faql could not restrain his horror, but he knew the consequences: he went straight home, made his will, and admitted the caliph's headsmen an hour later. He had seen too much.

With all his frantic savagery, Hâkim had gleams of intelligence and certainly of piety; and his reign was not altogether wanting in religious and public works. His most famous monument is the mosque that still bears his name, close to the north gate or Bâb-en Na'r. Begun by his father in 991, it was completed in 1003, except the heightening of the minaret. He also built the Râshida mosque, and often prayed there on Fridays; and at Maks he founded both a mosque for the next world and a belvedere for this, near the river bank.

¹ His adopted titles were eth-Thâir bi-amri-lâh and el-Muntaşir min-a'dûl-lâh, both favourites with Shî'a pretenders, but strange in an Omayyad.

His most original foundation, however, was the "Hall of Science" (Dār-el-'Ilm, or Dār-el-Hikma), erected in 1005 chiefly for the propagation of Shī'a theology and every sort of heterodoxy, but also for the promotion of learning



Fig. 27.—Mosque of el-Hâkim, 991-1003.

in general—astronomy, lexicology, grammar, poetry, criticism, law, and medicine. It was a luxuriously fitted establishment, with a magnificent library, largely supplied from the royal palaces, open to every one, and supplied

with all necessaries of study.¹ All the men of learning of Cairo and many visitors from afar used to meet there, and once they were invited in a body to the palace, and to their surprise returned clothed with robes of honour instead of losing their heads.

Even in his buildings, however there was something fantastic and suspicious. When he set up a great barn on the Mukattam hills, and filled it with firewood, the people were convinced that he meditated a general holocaust on a gigantic pyre, and an official proclamation barely reassured them. The desert slopes of Mukattam were his favourite haunt. There he had his observatory (another in the Kerāfa was never finished), where he pursued the astrological calculations which he sternly forbade to his subjects. Hither he would ride on his grey as before break of day, dressed in the extreme simplicity which he substituted for the pomp and splendour of his ancestors, attired in a plain robe of one colour, without a jewel even in his turban, and attended by a groom or two, or often quite alone. It must be admitted that he had courage. When he had roused hatred on all sides, killed whole families on suspicion, and exasperated every passion of vengeance, he still rode out, scarcely attended, in the deserts or in the crowded streets, by day and by night, indulging in fresh fancies or prying into the ways of his subjects too often with bloody consequences. Only his deadly ferocity, and a sense of mysterious awe, saved him from the hourly risks of assassination. Not an attempt was made upon him for a quarter of a century. It is true he had an omnipresent secret police, including women spies, who served him well in the harims.

¹ The sum allowed for the maintenance of the Hall of Science seem small compared with the luxury of the times. The annual grant for paper for copying MSS. was 90 *D* ; for ink and pens, etc., 12 *D* ., for repairing books, 12 *D* ., for cushions and carpets and winter curtains, 19 *D* ; for water, 12 *D* .; for salaries of the librarian and servants, 63 *D* . The total grant was 275 *D* . (Mahrisi, *Khitat*, i. 409.) The Hall of Science was closed in 1119 by the wazīr Aīdāl, in consequence of its use by heretical teachers, but a new Hall of Science was built near the great palace, and opened in 1123 by order of his successor, the wazīr Ma'mūn.

Matters grew worse as the caliph grew older. Wanton executions and confiscations became more frequent, and other people's lands were bestowed at random on common soldiers and sailors, or anybody. The folk began to fly the country. The bazars of Fustât were closed. All business was at a standstill. For seven years not a woman was seen in the streets. Revolt was in the air.

1003 Alexandria was independent under the Kurra Arabs. At Cairo a female gay was set up in the street, lampoon in hand. The caliph took it as he rode by, and black
1004 with fury seized the supposed woman, who proved to be of paper. Thereupon, in one of his ungovernable passions of rage, Hâkim sent his black troops to burn Fustât. The inhabitants ran to arms; there was three days' fighting in the streets, the mosque was full of shrieking supplicants, half the city was sacked or burnt, and many of its women enslaved. Still the people endured. Then a new mania seized the bemused caliph. He fancied himself the Incarnation of the Godhead, and compelled all men to worship his name. It was the legitimate outcome of extreme Shia mysticism, and it found
1005 support. One Hasan, known as "Slit-nose" (el-Akhrâm), came from distant Farghâna and preached the divinity of Hâkim. A man of the people murdered him and was executed, and the Sunnis honoured the murderer's grave. Then Hamza came from Sûsan, in
1006 Persia, to propagate the new doctrine, and won many adherents, who adorned themselves with strange titles. Some of these fanatics rode into the old mosque of 'Amr at Fustât and began to preach, their followers applauding
1007 and clapping their hands like thunder. The people flocked in to see the sight, but when one of the preachers addressed the *hâdî* "In the Name of el Hâkim the Compassionate the Merciful," it was too much: a tumult ensued, the people killed the blasphemers, dragged their bodies through the streets, and burnt them.

Never had Hâkim been so near a revolution. His palace was besieged by the Turkish troops in search of Darâzi, a leader of the new-fangled sect, who had taken

refuge there : but Hâkim was true to his insolent courage. He told them from a balcony that the man was not there, and afterwards that he was dead ; he lied, but he did not give him up. Darâzi escaped to found the Druze religion in the Lebanon. For a time Hâkim dissembled his rage, but in the seclusion of his palace he was concocting plans of vengeance. After a month or so of ominous reserve, the negro troops were again sent into Fustât, where the revolt had begun. They went quietly, in separate bands ; but once there, they set about plundering and devastating the city, burst into houses and even baths, hauling out the young girls, and committing every atrocity that black blood suggests. The caliph came riding along on his ass, as usual, and to him the desperate folk crowded with piteous entreats to be saved from the brutal soldiery. He answered never a word.

One result of his assumption of Godhead was the relaxation of many of the prescribed rules of Islâm. In his new capacity Hâkim rescinded the laws of fasting and pilgrimage, since the ordinances of the Korân were to be interpreted allegorically, and he personally abandoned the now superfluous habits of prayer and fasting. It was probably in the same spirit of religious emancipation, as much as to add to the exasperation of his afflicted Muslim subjects, that he rescinded his penalties against Christians, permitted them to resume their religion, and rebuild their churches. Many nominal Muslims thus reverted openly to their real creed, and the churches were restored to more than their former state. On the other hand the Muslims were treated with increased barbarity ; nothing was safe from the black troops, and the people prayed in the mosques and cried aloud in vain, for there was none to help them.

At last a stand was made. The Turkish troops and the Kitâma Berbers, finding themselves neglected, made common cause against the black infantry, and in a series of street battles broke their power and restored some degree of order in the distracted city. Hâkim for once could make no head against the resistance of the

indignant troops. He had raised up, moreover, a powerful enemy within his own household. His only sister, the Princess Royal, a woman of spotless character and great intelligence, had not escaped the madman's rancour. She rebuked him boldly for the horrors of his reign; he retorted by an outrageous slander against her chastity. To save her father's kingdom for her father's grandchild,¹ no less than to preserve her purity from an odious ordeal, she abandoned her wretched brother, and joined the rising conspiracy. She entered into negotiations with the Berber chiefs, and the result was soon seen.

1021 On February 13th, 1021, Hâkim took his wonted ride towards the Mukattam hills, and rambled about all night. In the morning he dismissed his two grooms, and went on alone into the desert, as he had often done before. Some days later his ass was found, maimed, on the hills, then his coat of seven colours, with dagger marks; his body was never discovered. After four years a man confessed to the murder, "out of zeal for God and Islam" but a mystery still hung over the vanishing of the mad caliph. People refused to believe that he was really dead. His return was anxiously awaited. Pretenders arose and claimed to be the lost Hâkim; and to this day the Druzes in the Lebanon worship the Divine Reason incarnate in his singularly unworthy person, and believe that one day he will come again in majesty and reveal truth and judgment.

The effects of this terrible quarter of a century could not be speedily undone, nor was Hâkim's only son, a boy of sixteen, who was proclaimed caliph with the name of *es-Zâhir*² (1021-1036), the man for the crisis. His

¹ Hâkim in 1013 had set aside his only son, the future Zâhir, and proclaimed as his successor a certain 'Abd-er-Rahmân, a great-grandson of el-Mahdi. This person was duly recognized in *khutbas* and *rukhs*, prayer and coins, and coins bearing his name, struck at Mîr, Damascus, and el-Manşûriya, are found, from 1012 to 1021, with the title "heir of the covenant of the Muslims." When Zâhir succeeded his father, 'Abd-er-Rahmân absconded.

² Abu-l-Hasan 'Alî es-Zâhir li-izâli-dîn-illâh, "the triumphant in strengthening God's religion." His coins were issued from the mints

aunt, the Princess Royal (Seyyidet-el-Mulk), managed the affairs of state for four years, but she had to deal with a military oligarchy, and to meet them with their own unhandsome weapons. The Berber leader of the revolt against Hâkim was treacherously murdered in the palace by her order, and the execution of two wazirs followed. After her death the government

fell into the hands of a court clique, who, to preserve their power, banished wiser counselors from the young caliph's side, and encouraged him in his natural folly and self-indulgence. Once a

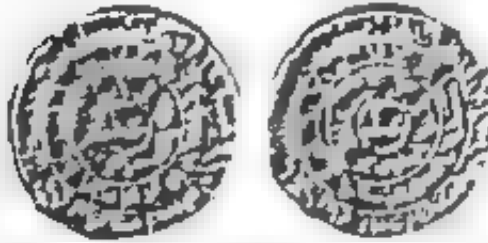


Fig. 25 — Dinar of es Zâhir, Misr, 1030.

day the three sheykhs who formed this cabal visited the royal youth in due form, but all serious affairs of government were arranged without his concurrence. The condition of the people, relieved by the cancelling of all Hâkim's obnoxious restrictions, was nevertheless aggravated by a serious failure of the mandation, which entailed ¹⁰⁴⁵ great scarcity and high prices. Oxen rose to 50 *D* a head, and their slaughter had to be prohibited, to prevent utter extermination. Camels of burden became scarce, and fowls, the common meat of Egypt, were not to be had. People tried to sell their furniture, and could not find purchasers. They sickened and died for want of food, and the stronger turned brigand and plundered the caravans, even of pilgrims; the roads were infested with robbers, and the Syrian rebels invaded the frontier towns. The people crowded before the palace, crying, "Hunger, hunger! O commander of the faithful, it was not thus under your father and grandfather!" The palace itself was so short of food, that when the banquet for the Feast of Sacrifice was spread, the starving slaves swept the table. The

of Misr, el-Mangûriya, el Mahdiyya, Zawîla (once), Sicily, F'lestîn (Ramla), and Tyre, and Alexandria appears for the first time as a Fâtimid mint in A.H. 423 (1032). Numerous glass weights, often dated, exist.

treasury was empty, the taxes in arrears. Slaves broke into revolt, and the citizens formed committees of safety, and were permitted to kill them in self-defence. Barricades were thrown up to keep the rebels out. The wazir, el-G'argarâ, was a prisoner in his own house. The situation was critical; but an ample Nile in 1027 restored plenty, and with the relief from famine the disturbances quieted down.

Besides the Syrian war (see ch. vi.), the most notable event of Zahir's fifteen years' reign was a solitary religious persecution in 1025, when all the divines of the Maliki school were banished from Egypt. As a rule there was perfect toleration of the Mohammadan sects, and the Sunnis were not disturbed in the free exercise of their religious rites. A treaty was also made with the Roman Emperor, Constantine VIII, who allowed Zahir's name to be prayed for in the mosques in his dominions, and the mosque at Constantinople to be restored, in return for the caliph's permission to rebuild the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem.¹ Zahir himself was completely engrossed in his pleasures and in the training of his mamiuk guard; but his love of music and dancers was combined with a savage cruelty which proved him his father's son. He once invited all the young girls of the palace to a merry-making. They came in their holiday best, and were led into the mosque, to await the festivities. The doors were then closed and bricked up, and 2000 girls perished of starvation. The history adds that for six months their bodies lay there unburied, and it is a relief to learn that the wretch who planned this wanton barbarity himself died of the plague in June, 1036.

He was followed by his seven year old son Ma'add (1036—1094), who, at the age of eight months, had been proclaimed heir, and now assumed the caliphate with the name of el-Mustansir.² His reign of sixty lunar

¹ Mak i 355. This arrangement was renewed in 1037-8, when the emperor Michael IV released 5000 Muslim prisoners and sent architects to Jerusalem. Abū-l-Fidā, iii, 96.

² Abu Tammam Ma'add el Mustansir bi llāh, "The seeker of aid from God." With the exception of five years (four of which, 1070 E.,

years and four months is probably the longest recorded of any Moḥammadan ruler. For the third time in the history of the Fāṭimids we find a woman's influence



Fig. 29.—Glass weight of
el Mustanṣir

almost supreme. The Christian wife of 'Aziz, the political sister of Hākim, were followed by the black mother of Ma'add. She was a Sūdānī slave, bought of a Jew of Tustar, and she and Abū-Sa'id, her Hebrew vendor, enjoyed most of the power during the caliph's childhood. By their exertions

the new vezir who succeeded G'argarāi (†1041) was ¹⁰⁴⁴deposed and executed, and Ṣadaḡa, a renegade Jew, appointed in his place. The renegade, however, finding Abu-Sa'id's interference intolerable, turned upon his patron and had him murdered by the Turkish guard. In revenge, the wālida (dowager, or caliph's mother) had the vezir assassinated. The next minister sought to balance the overweening power of the Turks by importing negro troops but he too was deposed, and his successor held office for only three months. Then, in 1050, el-Yāzī entered upon a vezirate which lasted eight years.

In territorial extent the dominions of the Fāṭimids were now reduced to little more than Egypt itself. Syria had long resisted their authority (see ch. v.). North Africa, under four successive rulers of the Sanhāga Berbers, seated at Mahdiyya, had acknowledged their suzerainty, by citing the caliphs' names in the prayer and on the coinage, by paying an annual tribute, and by receiving formal investiture on each succession by the caliph's diploma; but about 1044 Mo'izz, the ruling governor, joined the orthodox Sunni sect, and renouncing

fell during or immediately after the great famine) there is a consecutive series of annual mases of Mustanṣir's gold coins from the mint of Miṣr from A.H. 427 to 486 (1036-93). His other mints were Alexandria (especially during the last twenty years of the reign, to A.H. 458 = 1065), el Basta, el Mansūriya (to 1036-7), el-Mahdiyya (to 1065), Sicily (to 1054-5), Filastin (Ramla), Damascus, Tahrīya (Tiberias), 'Akka, Tyre, Tripolis, Aleppo (1050-5), Medina (1061), and Baghdād (Medīnat-es-Selām, 1058). His glass weights abound.

the Fātimids accepted a fresh investiture from the 'Abbāsid caliph in 1046.¹ At this the Shī'a of the west revolted against Mo'izz, and at the same time on the east the Egyptian government sent the great Arab tribe

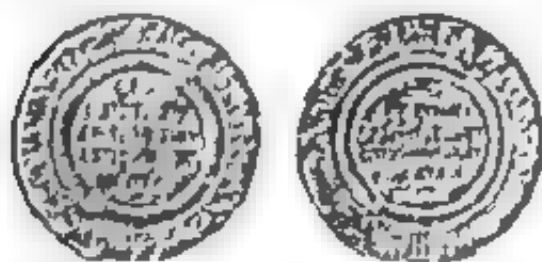


Fig. 30.—Dinār of el-Mustanṣir, Miṣr, 1047.

of Hilāl to bring him back to his allegiance. The Hilāl occupied Barṣa and Tripolis, and settled there; but Mo'izz, though defeated, maintained his independence at Mahdiyya, letting other minor states spring up further west. Sicily, where the Kurbī emirs had recognized the Fātimid supremacy, fell to the Normans in 1071 ff.² Henceforth, beyond an intermittent authority in Barṣa, the rulers of Egypt owned no subjects further west.

In Arabia on the other hand, they received an unexpected accession of prestige by the voluntary homage of a Shī'a proselyte, 'Alī the Suleyhid, who subdued the Yemen and the Hīḡāz from Haḡramawt to Mekka by 1063, and proclaimed the divine right of the Fātimid caliph in every pulpit. A still more surprising development was seen, when not only in the holy cities which had witnessed the birth of Islām, but even in Baghdad itself, the home of the orthodox caliphate, the name of Mustanṣir was prayed for in the mosques.³ It was but the temporary success of a Turkish general, el-Besāuri, that procured this unparalleled honour, and when this

¹ The latest coin of el-Manṣūriya (Kayrawān) bearing the Fātimid caliph's name, is of A.H. 438 (1046-7). Several coins, however, were struck at el-Mahdiyya from 1062-5, in the name of Mustanṣir, showing a temporary return to allegiance.

² The Sicilian emirs issued their coinage solely in the names of the Fātimid caliphs, and the last dated issues are of A.H. 446 and 448? (1054-7).

³ A coin of Baghdad (Medīnat-es-Selām) struck in A.H. 450 (1058-9) with the name of Mustanṣir is recorded by Frahn (*Mediate Asiat. Mus.*, 1847).

adventurer discovered that it was the better policy to submit to the irresistible strength of the rising Seljuk power than to build his hopes on the support which the Fātimid government had lavishly tendered, Baghdad resumed its old allegiance to the 'Abbāsids. The fact, however, that for forty Fridays the mosques of the "City of Peace" resounded with the name and style of the Egyptian caliph, and that the robe and turban and sapphire throne of the rival pontiff had actually been carried off and deposited in the palace at Cairo,¹ caused the liveliest enthusiasm; the city was *en fête*, and Mustamir spent two million dinārs in refurbishing the "little West Palace"—originally built by 'Aziz for the Princess Royal—as a gilded cage for the 'Abbāsīd caliph, whom he confidently expected to hold as his prisoner. Long afterwards the land beside the Nile near the "River" or "Iron" Gate was known as "the demesne of the tamburina" (Ard-et-Tabbala), after the estate bestowed by Mustamir upon a singer who improvised some verses on this amazing triumph of the Fātimids and sang them to the accompaniment of her drum.

An interesting description of Cairo and other places in Egypt by the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i-Khusrau has fortunately been preserved.² The royal city, Cairo itself (then called el-Kāhira el-Mo'izzīya), was a very large town when he saw it in 1046–49; the houses, roughly estimated at 20,000, were built chiefly of bricks so carefully joined that they looked like squared stone, to the height of five or six storeys, and separated from other houses by well-cultivated gardens and orchards, irrigated by wells and water-wheels. The rent of a moderate-sized house of four storeys was 11 *D.* a month (or about £70 a year), and the landlord of the house in which the traveler lodged refused 5 *D.* a month for the top storey.

¹ They remained there until the restoration of orthodoxy by Saladin, who sent back the turban and robe to Baghdad. The iron throne or lectern was retained, and eventually placed in the mosque of Beybars II.

² *Safer Nameh; relation du voyage de Nasiri Khusrau*, ed. & tr. Ch. Schefer, 1881, pp. 110–162.

All the houses in Cairo belonged to the caliph, and the rents were collected every month. The shops, which were reckoned at 30,000, were also his property, and were let at from 1 *D* to 10 *D* a month, which, even taking so low an average as 5 *D*, represents an annual income of about £650,000. The old wall of the city was no longer standing in 1046, and the second wall had not yet been begun; but the Persian traveler was struck by the high blank walls of the houses and still more of the palace, the stones of which were so closely united that they looked like a solid block. His account of the interior is disappointingly brief, but he mentions the celebrated throne-room, with its throne of gold sculptured with hunting scenes, surrounded by a golden lattice screen, and ascended by silver steps. He was told that the palace contained 10,000 people, including 12,000 servants, and that the guard mounted every night consisted of 1000 horse and foot. The city of Mîr (Fusât) was separated from Cairo by a space of nearly a mile, covered with gardens, flooded by the Nile in the inundation, so that in summer it looked like a sea. This was the well-known and well-loved "Lake of the Abyssinians," (Birket el-Habash), with its surrounding gardens, a favourite resort of Cairenes, of which Ibn-Saïd sings. "O lake of the Abyssinians, where my day was one long spell of happy peace so that Heaven seemed on thy bosom, and all my time a joyous feast. How lovely is the flax when it rises upon thee with its flowers or buds in knots, and its leaves unsheathed from thee like swords." Hard by was the monastery of St. John, with its beautiful gardens, laid out by Terman the son of the caliph Mo'izz, and afterwards a favourite spot of the caliph Hâni; and the "Wal. of the Steps" shaded by a giant sycamore. Mîr was built on an elevation, to escape the water, and to the Persian traveller looked "like a mountain" from a distance, with its houses of seven to fourteen storeys, standing each on a space of 30 cubits square, and capable of holding 350 people. Some of the

Abû Sâlih, ff. 76, 404.

streets were covered, and lighted by lamps. There were seven mosques in Mīr and eight in Cairo; the number of khāns (wekhāns) was reckoned at 200. A bridge of 36 boats joined Mīr to "the Island" (Rôḍa) but there was no bridge from the island to G'iza, only a ferry.

The traveller was especially struck by the Market of Lamps at Mīr, where he saw rarities and works of art such as he saw in no other city, and was astonished at the profusion of fruits and vegetables in the bazars. He describes the pottery made at Fustāt as so delicate that you could see your hand through it, and remarks the metallic lustre which is still seen in fragments found in the mounds which occupy the site of the city. He also saw some fine transparent green glass made there. The shopkeepers sold "at a fixed price," and if they cheated they were put on a camel and paraded through the streets, ringing a bell and confessing their fault. All the tradespeople rode donkeys, which were on hire in every street, to the number of 20,000. Only the soldiers rode horses.

Nāṣir-i-Khusrau found Egypt in a state of the utmost ^{most} tranquillity and prosperity. The shops of the jewellers and money changers, he says, were left unfastened, save by a cord (perhaps a net, as in the present day) stretched in front, and the people had full confidence in the government and in the amiable caliph. He saw Mustanṣir riding his mule at the high festival of cutting the canal: a pleasant-looking young man, with shaven face, dressed very simply in a white kaftan and turban, with a parasol enriched with precious stones and pearls carried by a high officer. Three hundred Persians of Deylem followed on foot, armed with halberds and axes. Eunuchs burnt incense of ambergris and aloes on either side, and the people threw themselves on their faces and called down blessings on the caliph. The chief kādī and a crowd of doctors and officials followed, and the escort included 20,000 mounted Kitāma Berbers, 10,000 Baṭinis, 20,000 blacks, 10,000 "Orientals" (Turks and Persians), 30,000 purchased slaves, 15,000 Bedawis of the Ḥigāz, 30,000 black and white slave attendants and chamber-

lains (*ustād*), 10,000 palace servants (*serāyī*), and 30,000 negro swordsmen. Besides these (which constituted the whole army, and probably were only represented by select divisions), the caliph's suite included various princes visiting the court, from Maghrib, Yemen, Rum, Slavonia, Georgia, Nubia, Abyssinia, and even Tatars from Turkestan and the sons of the king of Delhi. Poets and men of letters, in the caliph's pay, attended; and all Cairo and Miṣr, Christians included, turned out to see the cutting of the dam by the caliph, beside the pavilion *as-Sukkara*, built by his ancestor 'Aziz near the mouth, and then to go sailing on the Nile. The first boat-load was of deaf and dumb people, whose presence made an auspicious opening of the festivities. Though his descriptions relate chiefly to the capital, the Persian traveller records enough about the country, from Tinnis to Aswān, to confirm the impression that in agriculture and in general appearance it differed little from the Egypt of to-day.

The administration of el-Yāzūrī (1030—58), a man sprung of a humble sailor's family at Yāzūr near Jaffa, who rose to be *kādī* of Egypt and then wezīr, was characterized by an honest desire to improve the condition of the cultivators and at the same time increase the declining revenue.¹ A general return taken in his wezirate set forth the total receipts and expenditure in all the districts of the kingdom, and the revenue from the land-tax appeared to be only one million dinārs for Egypt and the like for Syria (Miṣr. i. 99, 100). Yāzūrī attempted economic reforms, both wise and foolish. His first step was to sell the government corn reserves (worth 100,000 *D.* annually) at the lowest current price, instead of waiting as before for a dear market. He seems to have deprecated government speculation in the necessities of life. The result was not only a heavy loss to the treasury, but when a low Nile produced a famine

¹ Sayyīdī says he was allowed for a month to add his own name to that of the caliph on the coinage, but there is no numismatic confirmation of this.

soon after, there was no reserve of corn to fall back upon. As usual plague followed hard upon famine, and a thousand people are said to have died daily. In this distress the government arranged with the emperor of Constantinople for a supply of 2,000,000 bushels of grain; but the death of Constantine Monomachus in 1055, and the conditions imposed by Theodora, including an offensive and defensive alliance between the two empires, led to the withholding of the needed supply and to hostilities in northern Syria. The Byzantines had discovered, like Bēāsīrī, that the Selgūks were more worth conciliating than the Egyptians, and the name of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, at the request of the Selgūk Sultān Tughrīl Beg, was now prayed for in the mosque at Constantinople. In retaliation Mustanṣir laid hands upon the treasure accumulated in the newly restored Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem.

Warned by failure, Yāzūrī took the opportunity of a good Nile to introduce a different system in relation to the fellahin. He put a stop to the mischievous practice of allowing merchants and usurers to buy the standing crops at a low price, ruinous to the cultivators and, like a second Joseph, he laid up immense stores of corn at Fustāṭ as a reserve against famine.¹ He was not himself above the suspicion of illegal aggrandisement, unfortunately, and his extortions from the Copts were especially unjust. He threw the patriarch Christodulus into prison on a false suspicion of having influenced the Christian king of Nubia to withhold the yearly tribute. Many fines were exacted from the Copts on slight pretexts, and

¹ Ibn-Maṣmūṣī, who died in 1209, gives the following statistics for the taxation of the different classes of land. Wheat and barley land paid 3 ardabbs (15 bushels) per acre, up to 1173, and afterwards 2½; broad beans, 3 to 4½ ard. per acre; peas, chickpeas, and lentils, 2½; flax varied, the highest amount was 3 diḥirs per acre; clover, 1 D.; lupin, 2½ D.; melons and white beans, 3 D.; cotton, 1 D.; sugar cane, of the first growth, 5 D., later growth, 2½ D.; colocasia, 5 D.; blouḡīn (melongena) 3 D.; indigo, 3 D.; vines and fruit trees in the fourth year, 3 D. There is no mention of rice, or maize, or dhura in the list; but it does not profess to be complete. In the present day the value of the winter crops averages £7 an acre.

at Dimrî these extortions were coupled with a general closing of the churches, some of which were destroyed. An inscription in the name of the Trinity over the patriarch's door was erased: "You cannot efface it from my heart," was his retort. Soon after, all the churches of Egypt were ordered to be closed, the patriarch and bishops were imprisoned, and a fine of 70,000 dinars demanded. Yâzûrî was poisoned in 1058, being suspected of intrigues with Baghdâd. His inordinate wealth doubtless led to his downfall. He was a man of fine taste, a great lover of pictures, and a munificent patron of learned men.

1059 After Yâzûrî, vezirs came and went like ministers of a modern republic. There were forty changes in nine years, but by this time it had been discovered that it was not absolutely necessary to kill a deposed vezir, and it became usual to confer upon him some lower office, from which he often rose to the top rank again. Some of these vezirs held office three or four times, and a change of ministry did not necessarily involve a massacre. These frequent changes were due to the incompetence of the caliph and the factious composition of the court and army. Mustansir was in the hands of all sorts of nobodies, who gave him conflicting counsels, distracted his experienced officials, and left him more perplexed than ever. Eight hundred letters a day testified to the grievances of his subjects and the weak vacillation of their sovereign, open to every influence and impression, however base and interested. A curious story is related of his irritability. He was one day superintending a murderous bastinading of a vezir, when the black dowager remonstrated, and told her son that killing a man was not the best way to make him disgorge his wealth, but if he would hand over the vezir to her, she knew how to squeeze him. The caliph thereupon rose in great wrath, and marched off towards the mosque of 'Amr. His chamberlains pursued, wondering what this new proceeding meant. Mustansir told them that as everybody thwarted him and kept him in leading strings he was resolved to throw up the government and retire to the mosque and devote

the rest of his life to religion. The thought, however, of the pillage that would at once destroy his beautiful palace brought him back to reason, and the chamberlains persuaded him to return. His religious yearnings were not deep-seated, if the story be true that in his palaces at Heliopolis he erected a pavilion in imitation of the Ka'ba of Mekka, and laid out a pond full of wine to represent the sacred well of Zemzem, and there sat and drank to the sounds of stringed music and singers, saying, "This is pleasanter than staring at a black stone, listening to the drone of the mu'edhdhin, and drinking bad water!" In such pleasures he consoled himself for the lack of all power and dignity. That he was not wanting in kindly feeling, however, is shown by the following story. Every year the usual pension-list amounting to between 100,000 *D* and 200,000 *D*, was laid before him for his revision. On one occasion he did not strike out a single pensioner's name, but with his own hand endorsed the list with this comment: "Poverty is a sore diet, and want bows the neck. Our anxiety for their welfare is shown in a generous distribution of help, let them therefore have their shares liberally. What ye possess will be spent, what is given to God lasts for ever."

Meanwhile the jealousy between the Turkish troops and the Sudini battalions, favoured by their countrywoman, the caliph's mother, grew to alarming proportions. A brawl led to a general engagement, and the Turks, supported by the Kitāma and other Berbers, drove the blacks, to the number of 50,000, out of Cairo into Upper Egypt, whence for several years they repeatedly advanced by land and water to attack their enemy. The Turks, however, had the upper hand in the capital, in spite of the dowager's intrigues, and they used their power in despoiling the palace and emptying the treasury, terrifying the changing weirs, and treating the caliph with contempt. Instead of 28,000 *D*. they now drew 400,000 *D*. a month from the treasury in pay and allowances. Their leader, Nāṣir-ed-dawla b. Hamdān, commander-in-chief of the Fāṣimid army, carried matters with so high a hand that at last he alienated his own colleagues and officers,

L

who induced the helpless caliph to dismiss him from his post. The deposed general made them all pay dearly for their revolt. Though obliged to fly from his enemies in Cairo, he had Alexandria in his power, and quickly obtained the support of some Arab tribes and of the Lewita Berbers. The caliph had shown some spirit during this disturbance, and had even appeared in mail at the head of such troops as remained loyal, by whose aid he had defeated Nâsir-ed-dawla; but his authority was now limited to his capital. The black regiments held all Upper Egypt, and 40,000 horsemen of the Lewita overran the delta, and abandoned the dikes and canals to destruction, with the open intention of starving the inhabitants. Cairo and Fustât were cut off from supplies, and a terrible famine which had begun with the low Nile of 1065, and lasted unbroken for seven years (1066-72), brought the country to the utmost pitch of misery. The fellâhin, in terror of the armed bands that infested the land, dared not carry on their work, and the usual effects of a bad Nile were thus prolonged to successive years. In the capital, cut off from all communication with the provinces, the famine was felt in the greatest severity. A cake of bread was sold for 15 *D.*, though an ardebb (five bushels) of corn could be bought for 100 *D.*, a house was exchanged for 20 lbs. of flour, an egg went for a dinîr. Horses and asses were eaten, a dog fetched 5 *D.*, a cat 3 *D.*, till soon there was not an animal to be seen. The caliph's own stable, which once held 10,000 horses and mules, was reduced to three nags, and when he rode abroad his escort, on foot, fainted with hunger. At last, people began to eat each other. Passengers were caught in the streets by hooks let down from the windows, drawn up, killed, and cooked. Human flesh was sold in public. Horrible tales are recorded of the atrocities of that reign of terror, and though examples were made of some of the criminals, the feeble government could make no head against the maddened populace. Plague came to finish what famine had begun, and whole houses were emptied of every living soul in twenty-four hours.

The rich suffered almost as much as the poor. Gay courtiers sought employment as groom and sweepers. A man went to a bath, and the manager asked him whether he would prefer to be served by 'Izz-ed-dawla, or Fakhr-ed-dawla, or Sa'd-ed-dawla—three of the great eunuchs of the day, who now undertook his shampooing. Ladies of rank tried vainly to sell their jewels for bread, and threw away their useless pearls and emeralds in the street. One lady, who contrived with great difficulty to secure a handful of flour in exchange for a necklace worth 1000 *D.*, made a little cake and brandished it before the crowd, crying "O people of Cairo, pray for our lord the caliph, whose reign brings us such blessing and prosperity! Thanks to him, this cake cost me 1000 dinars." Mustansir was roused for a moment from the lethargy in which he was sunk, and compelled the merchants, who had "cornered" the wheat stores, to desist and sell to the people at a moderate price; but he could do little. His own vast means were exhausted. Of all the caliphs none had approached him in wealth. Two extremely aged princesses, daughters of his ancestor Mo'izz, had died in 1050 (see p. 131), and left him the treasures for which four caliphs had successively sighed. Their wealth amounted to millions. The inventory of Mustansir's treasures recorded by Makrizi reads like a fable in 'the Thousand and One Nights';¹ yet all these exquisite

¹ Some of the items are interesting as evidence of the art and luxury of the times. Omitting precious stones (such as a box containing 7 *mudd*, or 16 lb., of emeralds, worth 300,000 *D.*; 7 *mayls*, or 250 lb., of fine pearls, ruby rings, etc.), the inventory included thousands of large crystal vases, some engraved with the name of 'Aiz; gold plates inlaid and enamelled in colours, cups of brass engraved with the name of Harun ar-Rashid; iskandels of gold, silver, ebony, ivory, stone and other woods, carved, inlaid, and jewelled; great porcelain jars full of camphor of Keyair cups of amber, phials of musk; large wash-tubs on three legs in form of animals, worth 1000 *D.* apiece; white China eggs (for warming the hands, perhaps); the gold mattress on which the caliph Marmûn had slept on an interesting occasion; enamelled plates presented by the Roman emperor to 'Aiz; steel mirrors; glass and pottery unnumerable; parasols with gold and silver fringes; chased and inlaid silver vessels of all shapes, chess and draught boards of silk embroidered

and priceless works of art had been dissipated among the barbarous Turks during the tyranny of Napir-ed-dawla. They had forced the caliph to sell everything, and then bought the treasures at a absurd forced price. Jewellery which had cost 600,000 *D* was sold for 20,000, emeralds valued at 100,000 went to a Turkish general for 100; often there was not even the pretence of a sale, but a scene of open looting. One of the valuers stated that at the lowest reckoning the treasures sold in a single fortnight of December, 1067, were worth 30,000,000 *D*. The costly collections of the "Treasury of the Flags" were destroyed by a torch dropped by a follower of one

in gold with points of gold silver ivory and ebony; green gold vases for narcissus flowers, and 2000 for incense, as floral fruits and other toys made of amber and camphor; a jewelled turban valued at 130,000 *D*, the stones of which weighed 17 lbs.; perfumes in vast masses; a gold peacock with ruby eyes and emeralled feathers; a gold cock, whose comb and eyes were made of rubies; a gazelle covered with pearls, a table of sardonyx, a gold palm tree with dates of precious stones. The costly-est state images or *dahals* for Nûr princesses included one made for the caliph by order of the emir Gargur at a cost of 15,000 *D*, and the "silver image" of the black diamond presented to her by her former owner, Aîsh-â-hî. The silks and embroidery, velvets, and other stuffs, included red damask brocade with gold in the design of parks where elephants roamed, silks embroidered with the history of the dynasties of the east and portraits of famous men, with these dates and deeds, the carpet made for Mo'izz at Tustar, depicting a map of the world as mountains, rivers, cities, where Mesia and Media were clearly recognised, stuffs of Di'âh Kaimûr, Behnem, Damascus, China, innumerable and precious; immense collections of jewelled daggers, swords, khalsak, jaslina, khatt lances, and arms of all sorts, including the sword of 'Amr b. Mû'âz Korih of Mû'izz of Kirm the ruler of Iraq, the sword of Haris and even the famous "Fîdh-â-hîr" the sword of the Prophet Mohammed himself. The tents of gold brocade and silk were sometimes worked with pictures of men and animals and birds, and supported by gilt poles, one specially large tent, made for Yâ'qûb at a cost of 30,000 *D*, had a pole 63 cubits high, and a circumference of 500 cubits, and required 100 camels to transport it with its furniture. It was covered with designs, and took 90 artists some years to make. The caliph Zâhir's tent was of pure gold thread, supported on its silver pillars, another made at Aleppo and costing 30,000 *D*, was supported by the tallest mast of a Venetian galley, another was called "the slayer," because it invariably killed one or two men in pitching. —Mâhriî.

of the Turkish goths—collections which had been formed at a cost of 70,000 or 80,000 *D* a year for a century past.

But the most irreparable loss of that reign of brigandage was the dispersion of the caliph's library of over 100,000 books on every branch of learning and belles-lettres known to the Arabs. They were stored in locked presses round the room, with labels to indicate the contents of each press. The library staff seems to have consisted of only a librarian, two copyists, and two servants. Among the manuscripts were 2400 illuminated Korâns, books in the handwriting of Ibn-Mukla and other famous calligraphers, thirty copies of the great Arabic dictionary called the *Ma*, twenty copies of Tabari's history, including the author's autograph copy, a hundred copies of Ibn Dureyd's *Gumhar* and innumerable works of incomparable value. All these were sold or carried off by the Turks on pretext of arrears of pay, save only the private library of the harem. Rare manuscripts, which scholars would give anything to possess now, went to light the fires; their bindings mended the shoes of the Turkish officers' slaves. Many torn volumes were thrown aside and got buried under the sand, and the "hills of the books" were long known near Abyâr. The most fortunate were those that were exported to other countries. It says much for the literary zeal of the Fâtîmids that in spite of this lamentable destruction, they set about collecting books with so much energy that Saladin found at least 120,000 volumes in their library a century later.

These forced sales and robberies of his treasures had reduced the unhappy caliph Mustansir to the depths of misery. Nâsir-ed-dawla held the caliph and the remnant of the garrison besieged in Cairo and Fustât, and reduced to such straits by famine and fear that the soldiers were looting the houses, the people flying by night, and the caliph's own household dying or fled. In 1070 his daughters and their mother took refuge, even in Baghdad, to escape starvation. There was nothing for it but to make terms with the rebels, but even then the Turks fell out among themselves, and Nâsir ed-dawla burnt and sacked part of Fustât, and after defeating Mustansir's

little army, who made a good fight, entered Cairo. The rebel's messenger found the caliph in his empty palace, seated on a common mat, attended by three slaves. A daughter of the celebrated grammarian Ibn-Bābshād charitably sent him two loaves a day. To such a pass had the famine and the Turkish despoilers reduced the Commander of the Faithful.

At last a state of things which could not be worse began to mend. A plentiful harvest in 1073 put an end to the famine that had wasted Egypt for seven years. In the same year Nāṣir-ed-dawla was assassinated by some jealous rivals, and his body sent in pieces to various cities of the empire. The change of keepers, from one Turk to another, did little to improve the government of the



Fig. 31.—Inscription of Bedr el-Gemālī in mosque of Ibn-Tūlūn, 1077.

country, but when the caliph, at his wits' end, sent for the governor of 'Akka (Acre) to take command, a complete change came over the face of affairs. Bedr el-Gemālī, an Armenian slave of the emir Gemāl-ed-dīn b. 'Amīn, had risen to high office in the Syrian wars, had twice been governor of Damascus, and had successfully fought the Turks till he had become the most powerful general in Syria. He accepted Mustansir's appeal, only on condition that he brought with him his hardy Syrian troops—"the Easterns" as they were called, in distinction from the Turkish, Berber, and Sadani regiments of Egypt. Despising the risks of a sea-voyage in winter, when scarcely any one dared to put to sea off that coast, he sailed from

'Akka in December, 1073, reached Tinnis with a favouring ¹⁰⁷³ wind in four days, and landed at Damietta. On his approach the caliph summoned up courage to arrest the Turkish commander Ildeguz. Bedr then entered Cairo at the beginning of February. The Turks received him ¹⁰⁷⁴ with cordiality, not knowing that he had been sent for. Each Turkish general was allotted as a victim to one or other of the Syrian officers, and next morning each of these appeared before Bedr, as was arranged, with a Turk's head in his hands. The detestable despotism was abolished in a night.

The caliph, overjoyed at his release from his oppressors, loaded his deliverer with honours, named him *Amir el-G'uyush* or commander-in-chief, and presently added all the civil offices of state. He was, in fact, endowed with the full supreme government, and became the *alter ego* of the caliph. Bedr established himself in the Bargawān street, and set about restoring order, executing all possible rivals, and recovering for his master as much as could be discovered of the palace property. When this was done he began the reduction of the provinces; slaughtered or subdued the Lewāta Berbers in the delta, ¹⁰⁷⁵ and took Alexandria by storm, marched into Upper Egypt, where the blacks and the Arab tribes had long ¹⁰⁷⁶ done as they pleased, and restored the caliph's authority as far as Aswān. The captives were so numerous that a woman could be bought for a dinar, and a horse for half as much again. After this ruthless and sanguinary beginning, all was quiet. The *fellāhin* under his strong, just, and benevolent rule, soon began to enjoy a security and prosperity unknown for many years. In 1090 a return of taxation ordered by Bedr el-Gemāli showed that the revenue of Egypt and Syria had risen from the usual 2,000,000 or at most 2,800,000, to 3,100,000 *D*.¹ Indeed the remaining twenty years of Mustansir's reign saw nothing but peace and plenty in Egypt, though in Syria there was continual war, which threatened at one

¹ This, if it refer to the land tax of Egypt alone, is probably the same return as that cited by Abu-Šālih (E. 86-90) as having been made

time to break over the frontier. For the first time since the reign of 'Azīz, Cairo became the home of architects. A new brick wall was built round the palace-city; the three
 1087 great stone gates, the Bāb-en-Naṣr, Bāb-el-Futūḥ (1087), and Bāb Zawila or Zuweyḥa (1091) were removed and rebuilt within the new wall, and assumed the imposing appearance they wear to this day. The three gates are stated to have been the work of three brothers, architects, from Edessa, each of whom built a gate.¹ As has been seen, Yazūrī and others employed artists from Mesopotamia and 'Irāq, and there is nothing improbable in Bedr importing architects from Edessa, which was full of his Armenian fellow-countrymen. According to Abū-Ṣāliḥ, however, the gates and the new wall were planned by "John the Monk" (f. 51e); but "planning" or designing (the Arabic word is *explic*) does not include building,

"in the days of the kādī el-Kaḥḥāl" (i.e. Ibn-el-Kaḥḥāl, c. 1090), the details of which (for 1276 districts and 890 villages) are as follows.—

| Northern Provinces. | Dīnārs. | Southern Provinces. | Dīnārs |
|--------------------------|----------|------------------------|--------------|
| Esh-Sharkīya . . . | 694,121 | El-G'izīya . . . | 129,641 |
| El-Murtāḥīya . . . | 70,358 | El-Atfīḥīya . . . | 39,449 |
| Ed-Dakahlīya . . . | 53,761 | El-Būṣīḥīya . . . | 39,390 |
| El-Abwānīya . . . | 4,700 | El-Fayyūmīya . . . | 145,162 |
| G'azīrat-Kūsaniya . . . | 159,664 | El-Behnesā'īya . . . | 234,801 |
| El-Gharbīya . . . | 430,953 | El-Ushmuneyn and Ṭahāt | 27,676 |
| Es-Semenuḍīya . . . | 200,657 | Es-Suyutīya [etc.] | [304,834] |
| El-Menūfiyateyn . . . | 140,933 | | |
| Fūwa, etc. | 6,080 | Total . . . | 1,020,953 |
| En-Nestariwiya . . . | 14,910 | | |
| Rosetta, etc. | 3,000 | Total of North and | |
| G'azīrat-Benī-Naṣr . . . | 62,508 | South | 3,060,993 D. |
| El-Buḥeyra | 139,313 | | |
| Hawf Ramsīs | [59,080] | | |

Total . . . 2,040,040

This estimate admittedly excludes the revenue from Alexandria, Damietta, and Tinnīs on the northern coast, and Kuft and Neḳāda (i.e. the provinces of Kūsīya and Ikḥmīmīya) in Upper Egypt, the revenues of which are estimated at 60,000 D. Abū-Ṣāliḥ adds that in the reign of el-Amīr a poll-tax of 1½ D. was imposed, which was raised to 2 D. by Ruḍwān, a wazīr of el-Iḥāz, noted for his oppression of Christians.

¹ Maḳr., i. 381.

and it is possible that the monk and the Edessa architects co-operated. The Edessa origin explains, as no Coptic source alone could do, the Byzantine appearance of these massive gateways. Edessa was long an outpost of the Roman empire against the caliphs, and its architects must have been well acquainted with the military



Fig. 32 — Gate of Zawila, Cairo, 1091.

architecture of Byzantium. Nor could Bedr el-G'emāl himself, after his long wars in Syria, have been ignorant of the buildings of the mediæval Romans.¹

¹ See M. van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in *Journ. Asiat.*, 1891.

During these twenty years the great Armenian who had rescued Mustanṣir from the Turks kept his weak and pleasure-loving sovereign completely under his control. When Bedr el-G'emāl died in the spring of 1094 at the age of eighty, his son Abū-l-Kāsim Shāhānshāh succeeded to his power with the title of El-Aṣḥab. The caliph, who had seen such terrible vicissitudes of fortune, and deserved all his troubles, did not long survive his trusty minister. Mustanṣir died at the end¹ of December, in his sixty-eighth year and the sixty-first of his inglorious reign.

Before relating the causes which led to the fall of the Fatimid caliphate, some account may be given of the machinery of their administration. Arabic historians are usually wanting in this class of information, which they take for granted as familiar to their readers, and it is difficult to obtain any precise statement about the details of government under the early Arab and Turkish governors. For the Fatimid period, however, we possess a systematic outline of the military and administrative system, which, so far as it goes, is useful.²

The army was divided into three principal ranks: 1. Emirs, who were subdivided into (a) gold-chain emirs, the highest class; (b) sword-bearers, who escorted the caliph on horseback; (c) ordinary officers. 2. The officers of the guard, consisting of (a) the masters (ustāds) or eunuchs, who were held in high honour and given important posts; (b) the "young guard," a body of about 500 picked youths of family, and (c) the troops of the caliph's barracks, to the number of about 1000. 3. The regiments, each named after some caliph or vezir or

¹ 18th of Dhū l-Hijja, A.M. 487, or 29th Dec., 1094. A coin of Alexandria bearing the date 488 must have been issued probably on the 1st of January, before the news of the caliph's death was known there.

² El-Kalkashandī translated by Wustenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Aegypten* (1879), pp. 171-222. Kalkashandī was a contemporary of Makrizī, but like the latter he had access to a large number of earlier authorities and documents of the Fatimid period. He also gives a long and curious account of the numerous court ceremonies and pageants.

according to its nation, as the *Hāfizīya*, *G'uyūshiya*, *Rūmiya* (Romans, i.e. Greeks), *Ṣaḳālība* (Slavs), *Sūdāniya* (blacks). The number of regiments was very large, and varied at different times. The pay ranged from 2 *D.* to 20 *D.* a month.

The fleet, which was stationed at Alexandria, Damietta, Ascalon and other Syrian ports, and *Ajdāb* on the Red Sea, numbered over seventy five galleys ten transports, and ten galleasses, under a high admiral.

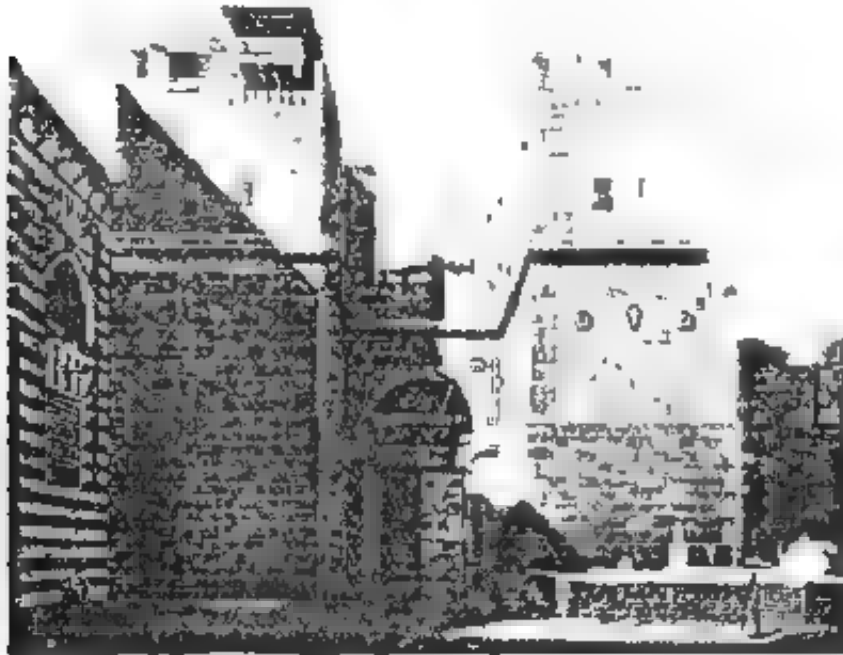


Fig. 33.—Gate of Victory (*Bāb-en Naṣr*), Cairo, 1087.

The official ministers of the caliphate were divided into two classes, the "Men of the Sword" and the "Men of the Pen."

The men of the sword superintended the army and war office, and consisted in 1. The *wezīr* (unless he were a civil man of the pen). 2. The "lord of the door," or high chamberlain, who stood next to the *wezīr*, and was sometimes called the lesser *wezīr*, and

enjoyed the privilege of presenting ambassadors. 3. The field marshal (*isfensâkâr*) or commander-in-chief, who commanded the whole of the forces, and looked to the protection of the palace. 4. The umbrella-bearer, a great emir, who carried the parasol of state over the caliph. 5. The sword-bearer. 6. The lance-bearer. 7. The equerries. 8. The commandant of Cairo. 9. The commandant of Miṣr (Fustât). To the men of the sword belonged also the household attendants, stewards, chamberlains, ink-bearer, and various court functionaries.

The men of the pen included (besides the wezîr unless he belonged to the military order): 1. The chief *kaḍî*, endowed with very great powers, the head of the law, director of the mint, who held his court in the mosque of 'Amr on Tuesdays and Saturdays, seated on a raised divan, with his inkstand before him, the witnesses ranged on either hand in the order of their causes, four lawyers seated in front, and five ushers to keep order. 2. The chief preacher, who presided in the hall of science. 3. The inspector of markets (*mobtesab*), who held unrestricted control over the bazars and streets, assisted by two deputies for Cairo and Miṣr, supervised weights and measures, prices, and trade generally, and punished cheats and defaulters. 4. The treasurer, who presided over the *Beyt el-Mâl* or state treasury, and had besides various duties, such as manumitting and marrying slaves, making contracts for building ships, etc. 5. The deputy chamberlain, who joined the "lord of the door" in introducing an ambassador to the caliph, each holding one of his hands, and never letting him loose. 6. The reader, who recited the *Korân* to the caliph, in season and out of season.

A lower division of the men of the pen comprised the whole body of civil servants, attached to the following departments. 1. The wezîrate (unless the wezîr were a man of the sword). 2. The chancery, subdivided into the secretariate and the two branches of the record office or registry of the caliph's acts, one to take down and draft his instructions, the other to write them out in

fair copy. 3. The army pay office, which also attended to the proper mounting and furnishing of the troops. 4. The exchequer, subdivided into fourteen departments, dealing with every branch of the finances, accounts, allowances, presents, pensions, tribute, crown inheritance, royal factories, with special bureaux for Upper Egypt, Alexandria, etc. The physicians, of whom the caliph always kept four or five, and the poets, whose name was legion, also formed separate classes of the men of the pen attached to the court.

Outside these court functionaries were the local officials who governed the three divisions of the empire, Egypt, Syria, and the borders of Asia Minor. Egypt was administered by the four governors of Kûṣ, or Upper Egypt, Sharkīya (Bilbeys, Kaḥṭāb, Ushmām), Gharbiya (Mahalla, Menûf, and Abyar), and Alexandria (including all Buḥeyra). The governor of Upper Egypt ranked almost next to the wezīr, and had several deputy governors under him in the various provinces. Under these were the district officials and heads of towns and villages. The management of all local affairs was entrusted to the local authorities, including the maintenance by troops and corvée labour of the irrigation canals and dams belonging specifically to the district or village; but the larger dikes, which could not be assigned to one local authority, were managed by inspectors appointed annually from Cairo, with a large staff of skilled assistants. The system reads well on paper, but in practice there was doubtless much corruption and speculation. The general testimony of the Arabic historians, however, points to a mild and even benevolent treatment of the fellāḥīn as the prevailing policy of the Fāṭimid government.

CHAPTER VI

THE ATTACK FROM THE EAST

969-1171

Literature As preceding; also Osima, Bahā-ed-dīn, William of Tyre.

Monuments, Inscriptions, Coins, etc.—See preceding chapter.

SYRIA had been a dependency of Egypt, with brief intermission, since the days of Ibn-Falān, but under the Fātimids the connection had been growing more and more strained. The orthodox inhabitants, especially in Damascus, strenuously repudiated the Shi'a heresy, and could be induced only by force to recognize the caliphs of Egypt. The Fātimid conquest by G'a'far b. Fellāh in 969 was immediately followed by revolt, and the intervention of the Karmāṭis practically severed Syria from Egypt for the next eight years. Even after the caliph 'Azīz in person had led a successful campaign in 977, and quashed the insurrection under Afegīn, Damascus was still but nominally under the control of Egypt, and it was not till 988 that the Syrian capital was thoroughly subdued for the time. The northernmost city of the Fātimid empire was then Tripolis¹. Antioch still belonged to the eastern Roman empire; and Aleppo was in the possession of the last descendants of the

¹ The earliest Fātimid coinage at Tripolis dates from 974-5; the latest is 1101-2. But the Syrian coinage of the Fātimids was too intermittent (or too few examples have come down) for it to be taken as a chronological guide. The most regular mints were Filastīn (i.e. Ramla), Tyre, and Tripolis. Under el-Āmir, when Syria had nearly all fallen to the Crusaders, 'Asqalān (Ascalon) became the Syrian mint of the Fātimids, 1109-17.

Hamdānids, ever sworn foes to Egypt, and protected by the Romans as a necessary buttress to Antioch, which the emperor Nicephorus had recently recovered from the Arabs (969). When Mangūtegin, the Fatimid general, besieged Aleppo for thirteen months in 992-4, after defeating an army of 50,000 men despatched to its relief ⁹⁹⁴ by the Roman governor of Antioch, the emperor Basil II himself, abandoning a campaign against the Bulgarians, came to its support. At his approach the Egyptians retired on Damascus, and the emperor sacked Hims and Sheyzar and made an unsuccessful attack on Tripolis. A parade of 250 Roman prisoners at Cairo was the only triumph enjoyed on this occasion by the caliph 'Aziz.

Under Hākīm, after two victories over the Romans, by sea off Tyre and by land near Apamea, peace was concluded for ten years with the emperor: but Syria ⁹⁹⁸ remained in a chronic state of revolt. Tyre had to be reduced, and the G'arrāh family at Ramla set up a rival caliph in the shērīf of Mekka, with the title of *er-Rashid*; defeated the Fātimid army near Dārām; and were with difficulty brought to some degree of submission by judicious bribes and diplomacy. Nominally, the Egyptian caliph acquired some prestige by the acknowledgment of his sovereignty in the mosques of the Euphrates valley, from Mōsil to Kāfa, by the Arab ('Okeyhid) ruler Kīrwāsh; but this temporary adhesion ¹⁰⁰¹ was summarily severed by the Buweyhid sultan of 'Irāq. Nor was the brief accession of Aleppo to the Fātimid party in 1011, when the Hamdānids were expelled by their freedman, Ibn-Lūlu, of much value. Such homage was in reality in the nature of an appeal for help against some pressing danger.

On the accession of Zāhir, the authority of the ¹⁰⁰⁴ Egyptian government was scarcely felt in Syria. The capable commander of their army, Anūshtegin ed-Dizbiri, the governor of Caesarea, had to face an insurrection under Ḥassān b. Daghfal in Palestine, another under Sinān around Damascus, and the hostility of Sālih b. Mirdās, who took Aleppo in 1025 from the Princess

Royal's Indian slave Firôz, by whom the city had been held for the last three years. Anûshtegin at last defeated and killed Şalîh at the battle of Ukhuwana near Tiberias, drove Hassân into exile among the Romans, and restored most of Syria, except the north, to the Egyptian caliph. Another defeat of the Mirdâsid Arabs on the Orontes, near Shezzar, gave Aleppo¹ and the rest of northern Syria, except the Roman territory, to his master the child caliph Mustansir, and Anûshtegin's firm rule not only preserved peace and order in Damascus, but induced the governor of Harrân, by the Euphrates, to proclaim the caliphate of Egypt in the mosques of Harrân, Sarûg and Rakka. Meanwhile a ten years' peace had been concluded with the emperor Michael IV, who was allowed to complete the restoration of the ruined Church of the Resurrection in 1048.

The government of Anûshtegin marks high-water in the Fâtimid relations with Syria. From 1043 their power rapidly declined. The new governor, Naîr-ed-dawla b. Hamdân, afterwards notorious in Egypt, found himself powerless at Damascus; Palestine was once more in revolt under Hassân; and two attempts to recover Aleppo from the Mirdâsids, in 1048 and 1049, proved fruitless though 30,000 Egyptian troops were sent in the second year. It is true the Mirdâsid Mo'izz-ed-dawla afterwards submitted, sent the caliph 40,000 *D*, and presently made his home at Cairo;² but his nephew carried on the struggle in 1060, after which Aleppo was never a Fâtimid city.

A greater power, however, was rapidly advancing from the east, which merged all minor contests in a struggle for bare existence. The Selgûk Turkmen had subdued Persia and in 1055 their leader, Tughril Beg, was recognised at Baghdad in the Friday prayers as the caliph's lieutenant, or in other words master. The Selgûks were sternly orthodox and zealous for the faith.

¹ There is a coin of Aleppo, A.H. 439 (1037-8), with the name of Mustanjir, in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris.

² Coins of Aleppo from 1050 to 1055 bear the name of the caliph Mustanjir.

to extirpate the Egyptian heresy was their sacred duty. To reduce Syria, as a first step, was no very difficult task, in its divided and rebellious state. The Selgûk general Atsiz conquered Palestine and entered Jerusalem in 1071 and after laying siege to Damascus annually for five years and destroying the crops around, at last, with the connivance of one of its inveterate factions, acquired the city in 1076. Damascus never again belonged to the Fâtîmids.¹ The only capable leader in Egypt, Bedr el-G'emâlî, was fully occupied in recovering the Nile valley for his indolent master, and had no force to spare for Syria. He bribed Atsiz to abstain from crossing the frontier—he had advanced as far as Gaza and el-'Arish, the border town—and meanwhile prepared ships to convey the Fâtîmid court to Alexandria if the worst should happen. Had Atsiz been adequately supported from the east, the fears of the great vezir might have been realized, and the Selgûks might have extinguished the Shî'a dynasty a hundred years before its actual fall. As it was, as soon as Egypt was pacified, the troops were free to be employed in Syria, and Damascus was at once besieged. The Egyptians had to retire on the approach of Tutush (the brother of Melik Shâh, the greatest of the Selgûk sultans), who was appointed viceroy in Syria and entered Damascus in 1079. Still undaunted, Bedr himself, despite his seventy years, led a fresh campaign against the invaders in 1084, but his siege of Damascus was equally fruitless. He lived, however, to see some minor successes on the coast, where the Fâtîmid armies sent by his order took Tyre, which had been many years in revolt, and re-conquered 'Akka and G'ubeil.

The deaths of Bedr el-G'emâlî and the caliph Mustaneir made little difference in the situation. Bedr was succeeded in the vezirate by his son el-Aldal Shâhânshâh, who hastily set the youngest of the seven sons of the late caliph on the throne with the title of el-Musta'li (1094—1101).²

¹ The latest Fâtîmid coin of Damascus bears the date 1066-7.

² Abû-l Kâsim Ahmad el-Musta'li-bi-llâh, "the exalted of God," struck coins at Mîs (1095—1100-1), Alexandria, 'Akka, Tyre, and Tripoli (1101).

He thought a youth of eighteen more amenable



Fig. 34.—Dinâr of el-Musta'li, Tripolis, 1101.

to management than a mature man. The eldest son Nizâr, who was close upon fifty, naturally resented this supersession, and set himself up at Alexandria, with the

governor's approval, as the Imâm el-Mustafa', and although he was forced to surrender a year later and vanished in his brother's prisons, he was long revered as the true Imâm and head of the Shi'a by the Ismailis, especially by the "Assassins" of Persia. On Mustafî's death at the close of 1101 his son el-Âmir² (101 or 113), a child of five, was duly enthroned by el-Afdal, who had a little seat made on the pommel of his own saddle and rode through Cairo with the baby caliph seated in front. The wezir's power was now absolute, and for twenty years he governed Egypt as he pleased, as his father had done before him. Indeed from 1074 to 1121 these two great Armenians were, in all but name, kings of Egypt, and to their mild just rule, as much as to their energy and firm control, the country owed half a century of internal quiet and prosperity.

¹ E. Imâm el-Muṣṭafâ-lî dînî-llâh. Coins were issued in his name by the Assassins of Alamût, who pretended to be his descendants; one is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, with the mint Kara tarîm, "the Golden Throne," and date 495 A.H. A reputed son of Nizâr is said to have struck coins as caliph in the Yemen with the title Imâm Moḥammad b. Nizâr. He was crucified at Cairo with the ex-wezir Ma'mun and his five brothers in 1128. Another son, el-Isan, raised an army in Vaghrîb (Barqa, perhaps), and was defeated and killed by Hâfîz's troops.

² Abû-'Alî el-Manṣûr el-Âmir-bî-ahkâmî-llâh, "the ruler by the decrees of God." His coins were issued at Miṣr (1101—30), el-Mo'izîya el-Kâhira (Cairo, 1114—30), Alexandria (1101—30), Kûs (1123—4), Acrelon (1109—16), and Tyre (1102—23). The epithet el-Mo'izîya ("of Mo'izz") applied to Cairo is also used by Nâṣir-i-Khusrau in 1046.

The one engrossing topic of Afshar's rule was the danger from the east. Not from the Selgûks, for on the deaths of Melik Shih (1002) and Tutûsh (1003) their empire broke into fragments, and the war of succession that



Fig. 35.—Ghas Weight
of al-Ayyub

paralyzed their influence in Persia was echoed by a lesser rivalry between the sons of Tutûsh, one of whom (Dukak) held Damascus, whilst the other (Rudwân) ruled at Aleppo and even had the Fâtimid's name proclaimed in the mosques in the hope of winning Egyptian support against his brother. But though the Selgûk

power was broken in Syria the impulse that brought them westward was still strong, and numerous bands of hardy Turkmen were gathered round the standards of daring chiefs, trained in the Selgûk wars, and ready to embark on fresh conquests whenever a fresh leader should appear who could unite them for a common purpose. Meanwhile, in the lull between the Selgûk hurricane and the gathering storm which was to break upon Egypt in the armies of Nur-ed-din, a new force appeared which at first threatened to carry all before it. The temporary paralysis of the Mohammadian dynasties in Persia and Syria, and the degenerate luxuriousness of the Fâtimids in Egypt offered an opportunity for invasion. In 1096 "the first Crusade began its eastward march", in 1098 the great cities of Edessa and Antioch and many fortresses were taken; in 1099 the Christians regained possession of Jerusalem itself. In the next few years the greater part of Palestine and the coast of Syria, Tortosa, 'Akka, Tripolis, and Sidon (1110) fell into the hands of the Crusaders, and the conquest of Tyre in 1124 marked the apogee of their power. It was the precise moment when a successful invasion from Europe was possible. A generation earlier, the Selgûk power was inexpugnable. A generation later, a Zengi or a Nûr-ed-din, firmly established in the Syrian seats of the Selgûks, would probably have driven the invaders into the sea. A lucky star led the preachers of the first Crusade to

seize an opportunity of which they hardly realized the significance. Peter the Hermit and Urban II chose the auspicious moment with a sagacity as unerring as if they had made a profound study of Asiatic politics. The Crusade penetrated like a wedge between the old world and the new, and for a while seemed to cleave the trunk of Mohammedan empire into splinters."¹

When the news of the approaching Crusade reached Egypt, Afdal welcomed it as a source of strength against the Selgûks, and seems to have even anticipated an alliance with the Christians against the common enemy.²

Emboldened by the prospect he marched into Palestine and took Jerusalem after more than a month's siege from its Selgûk commandants, the brothers Sukman and Il-Ghâzi.³ The dismissal of these valiant defenders only paved the way for the Crusaders, and when the Christian conquerors massacred 70,000 defenceless Muslims in the Holy City, Afdal at last understood what he had to expect from his presumed allies. He received a further lesson when the Franks surprised him before Ascalon, and attacking the Egyptians, in spite of a flag of truce, utterly routed them, captured their camp and baggage, and set fire to a wood in which many of the fugitives had sought refuge. Afdal sailed hurriedly for Egypt, and Ascalon bribed the Franks to leave it alone. So long as he lived, however, the Armenian war waged war against the invaders. In 1101 the Crusaders were again victorious near Jaffa, but in 1102 an Egyptian army, composed probably of some of Bedr's Syrian veterans, had their full revenge near Ascalon, defeated Baldwin and 700 knights, and compelled the king of Jerusalem to take refuge in a bed of rushes, whence he was smoked out and hunted as far as Jaffa. Ramla once more became a Saracen city. In the following year, several engagements took place. Afdal sent his son, who beat the

¹ Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 24, 25.

² He may even have proposed to become a Christian in order to cement the alliance. Cp. *Hist. Occ. des Croisades*, iv. 48, 78.

³ They afterwards founded the Ortûqid dynasties at Mâridin and Hays in Diyar-Bekr, one of which subsisted to the time of Timur.

Franks at Yâsir (when Baldwin hid in a haystack), took Ramla, and sent 300 knights as prisoners to Egypt, after killing the rest. A force of 4000 Egyptian horse was sent to Jaffa the same year, supported by a fleet; but the Crusaders were also reinforced, and no effort of the Egyptians could arrest their progress. By 1104 most of Palestine was in Christian hands, except a few coast fortresses, and of these 'Akka and G'ibei fell in that year. The struggle centred round Ramla for some time, and the Atâbeg or Selguk governor of Damascus, Iughtegin, made common cause with the Fâtimites in endeavouring to save the remnant of Muslim power in the Holy Land, but after an indecisive battle between Jaffa and Ascalon in September, 1104, both sides retired exhausted. After 1109, when Tripolis at length fell after an heroic siege, Tyre became the hope of Islam and resisted all attempts of the Crusaders until 1124, when Ascalon remained the northern outpost of Egypt and almost the only relic of her former sway in Syria. In 1117 King Baldwin even invaded Egypt itself, burnt part of Faramâ, and reached Tinnis, when his fatal illness compelled him to return. The Egyptians attempted no reprisals, and henceforth, until the end of the Fâtimid dynasty, defensive diplomacy was the prevailing policy of their *wazīrs*.

The wise rule of Afdal came to an end when his sovereign, growing to manhood, chafed in leading strings, and had the great *wazīr* assassinated in the street at the close of 1121. The caliph visited the dying man and exhibited the deepest sympathy; and, as soon as his eyes were closed, spent forty days in plundering his house of the treasures which he had amassed during his long administration. The historian G'emâl-ed-dîn, who was acquainted with one of Afdal's officers, declares that the *wazīr's* wealth comprised 6,000,000 *D* in gold, 250 sacks (5 bushels each) of Egyptian silver dirhems, 75,000 atlas (satin) dresses, 30 camel-loads of gold caskets from 'Irâk, etc., together with an amber frame or lay figure on which to display the state robes. The minding of his vast herds was farmed out during his last year for 30,000 *D*. Among his institutions was that of a sort of

order of chivalry, called the "squires of the chamber," a body of youths furnished each with a horse and arms, and pledged to execute without faltering any command he gave them. Those who distinguished themselves were promoted to the rank of emir. His successor, Ibn-el-Batāihī, styled el-Marmūn, though a capable financier and a tolerant minister, could not keep his place; he was
 1123 imprisoned in 1123 and afterwards crucified.¹ The caliph now tried the experiment of being his own wezir, aided

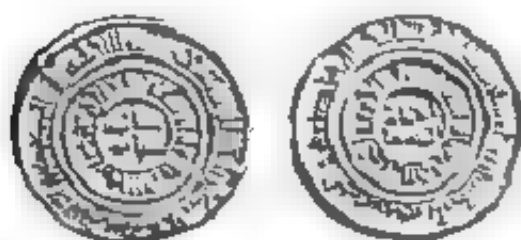


Fig. 36.—Dinār of el-Āmir Kūṣ,
 1123 or 1125

only by the monk Abū-Nejāh b. Kennā, who farmed the taxes of the Christians for 100 000 *D.* The monk became general collector of revenue, but gave himself such airs that the caliph had him flogged to death with thongs.

El-Āmir's sole rule made him universally detested. Oppression of every kind and wanton executions showed the innate cruelty of his nature, and in November, 1130,
 1130 as he rode back from the Hawḍag—a delightful pleasure-house on the is and of Rōḍa, which he had built for his favourite Bedawī mistress, and which rivalled his charming rosaries at Kalyūb—the caliph was set upon by ten of the Ismā'īlian Assassins, and died of his wounds the same night. Apart from his taste in roses, the most notable fact about his private life is that 5000 sheep, at 3 *D.* a head, were consumed in his kitchen every month.

El-Āmir left no son, and his cousin el-Ḥāfiẓ² succeeded him (1131-1149), at first as regent, pending the delivery of one of the late caliph's wives who was with child.

¹ He built the Grey Mosque (G'āmī' e-Akmar) in 1121-2, of which the ruins are still to be seen in the Beyn-el-Kaṣrey.

² Abū-l-Meymūn 'Abdu el Meḡīd el Ḥāfiẓ li-dīni llāh. "the guardian of the religion of God," struck coins only at Misy (Fusāt) and Alexandria, with dates from 1131 to 1148-9.

Unluckily for her, she bore a daughter, but before the regent became actual caliph a curious interregnum occurred. Aḥlāl's son Abū-'Alī, nicknamed Katīfāt, who had been made wezīr by the overwhelming voice of the army, was a staunch Imāmian or Twelve-Imāms-man, a believer in the return of the Mahdī, and a complete sceptic as to the Fīṭmīd claim to the caliphate. He shut up the regent in the palace, and had the prayers recited and the coinage struck in the

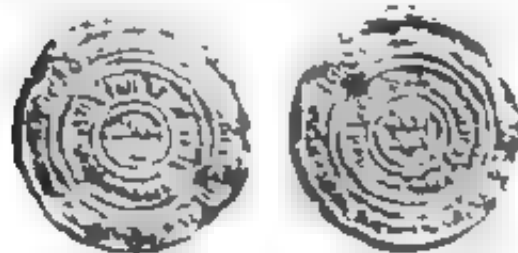


Fig. 37 — Dirhām of "the expected Imām," Cairo, 1131.

name of no living ruler but of the predicted Mahdī, or Imām el-Muntazar ("the expected").¹ This farce went on for a year, during which Katīfāt exercised plenary powers. He was not a bad ruler, nevertheless — the tradition of good

government was strong in his family — he was just and benevolent, tolerant and generous to the Copts, and a great lover of poetry. His autocracy could not last long, however, with the rightful caliph intriguing against him in the palace; and in December, 1131, whilst riding out to play polo, he was assassinated by some of the caliph's personal corps or "young guard."

El-Hāfiẓ now entered upon his real caliphate, at the "31

¹ Coins bearing the name of "the Imām Moḥammad Abū-l-Kāsim el-Muntazar-lī-amrillāh, commander of the faithful," were struck at el-Mo'izzīya el-Kāhira ("the victorious city of Mo'izz, i.e. Cairo), Mīr (i.e. Fustāt), and Alexandria, in A.H. 525 (1131 A.D.), and another, struck at Mīr in 526 (Nov.-Dec., 1131, for the wezīr was assassinated on Dec 8), bears not only the title of "the Imām el-Mahdī el-Kāsim-lī-amrillāh Huḡḡet-Allah-'alā-l-'Alamīn," which denote the same predicted personage as el-Muntazar, but also presents the name of "el-Afdāl Abū-'Alī Aḥmad" as "his lieutenant (naib) and khalīfa," titles which indicate an advance in the wezīr's pretensions. See Makrīṣī, *Khitat*, i. 406; Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Or. Coins in the Brit. Museum*, vol. iv, pp. ix-xiii, 55-6; Sauvage and Lane-Poole, *The Twelfth Imam on the Coinage of Egypt*, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., vii 140-151.

age of 37, with Yānis, an Armenian slave of Afīlā, as wezir. Yānis was a strict disciplinarian, a hard upright, intelligent, and detested man. In nine months he was found too overbearing, and the caliph had him poisoned by the court doctor. After this, perhaps in order to avoid arousing jealousy among the troops, or to escape the tyranny of a too powerful minister, Hāfiz tried for a time to do without any wezir, and proved himself no mean administrator, till the quarrels of his sons over the appointment to the heirship brought about civil war between the rival battalions of the *Ras-kāshya* and the *G'uvūshya* black soldiery, to whom the caliph was forced to sacrifice his elder son. The victorious *G'uvūshya* increased to the number of 10,000 in the *Bayn-e-Kāstān* square, and advanced the head of prince H. san, who had caused the deaths of many emīrs. The helpless caliph summoned his two court doctors; Abū-Mansūr the Jew refused to do the job, but his Christian colleague, Ibn-Kirfa, mixed a deadly draught which Hasan was forced to drink. Ibn Kirfa was a man of considerable attainments in science, apart from his practical acquaintance with toxicology; he held several lucrative court appointments, such as master of the wardrobe, and possessed a charming house on the canal; but the caliph could not endure him after he had poisoned his son, and the too subservient doctor was cast into prison and executed soon after his victim.

The remaining years of Fātimid rule in Egypt were marred by the continual contests of rival ministers, supported by factions in the army. The troops set up as wezir Bahrām, an Armenian Christian, who was nevertheless styled "the Sword of Isām" but his wholesale appointment of his fellow countrymen to all the offices and departments of state, and the consequent indulgence of Christians, led to his expulsion, together with 2000 of his Armenian protégés,¹ and his eventual

¹ The number may be exaggerated, but it should be noted that Bedr al-Dīn, emīr, brought an Armenian bodyguard with him to Cairo, and that for more than half a century the government had been in Armenian

adoption of the monastic life.¹ His successor, Rudwan, ¹¹³⁷ a gallant soldier and a poet, was the first to assume the title of king (melik), afterwards used by all Fatimid wezirs: he was styled el-Melik el-Afīl and Seyyid el-Aḡall ("the most excellent king and most illustrious noble"), but his titles did not save him from a fall: he was thrown into prison, and though after ten years he ¹¹³⁸ contrived to bore his way through the prison wall with the proverbial iron nail, and assembling many followers established himself in the Grey Mosque (el-Akmar) in front of the great palace of the caliph, he was cut down and his head was thrown into his wife's lap. A horrible ¹¹³⁹ story is told that his body was cut into small pieces and devoured by budding warriors, in the belief that they would thus assimilate his pith and courage.

The last year of the old caliph's reign—if reign it could be called when his authority hardly extended beyond the palace and was only maintained there by his drunken negro guard—was passed in a scene of constant faction and tumult; the streets were unsafe and the people lived in a perpetual terror. The caliph was now 71 years of age, and suffered grievously from indigestion. His physician invented a drum, cunningly composed of the seven metals, welded at the exact moment when the soothing of each of the seven planets promised fortunate results; and whenever this magic drum was beaten, the caliph's flatulence was relieved. This interesting machine was in the palace at the time of Saladin's conquest, and one of his Kurdish soldiers carelessly thrummed it, in ignorance of its peculiar properties. The effect was so astonishing that the man dropped the drum in confusion, and it was broken.

There is no doubt that under the Fatimids, on the whole, the Christians of Egypt were treated with unusual consideration, far more than under succeeding dynasties. Setting aside the persecutions of Hakim, which were merely part of a general tyranny, the Copts and

Armenians, no doubt to the great increase and aggrandisement of the Armenian colony

¹ Abū-Ṣāliḥ, f. 84a.

Armenians had never before received so much benevolence from Muslim rulers. Under 'Azîz they were favoured beyond the Mohammadans and were appointed to the highest offices of state. Under Mustansir and his successors, Armenians (whether Christians or not) protected their fellow-countrymen and through them the other Christians during the long period when the wezirate was in their hands. Most of the financial posts of government were then, as always, in the possession of Copts. They were the farmers (ilâmin) of taxes, and the controllers of accounts, and their ability made them indispensable. Throughout the reigns of the later caliphs we read constantly of the building and restoration of churches, recorded by the Christian Abû-Sâlih, whose contemporary history accurately reflects the state of Egypt at the close of the Fatimid rule. The caliph Hâfiz even welcomed the Armenian patriarch at his usual public levees on Mondays and Thursdays every week, to receive his instruction in history, and continued the practice up to his death. Hâfiz was fond of visiting monasteries, where a manzara or belvedere was sometimes erected looking on the secluded gardens and commanding a view of "the blessed Nile," and he and his son Zîhr, and the last caliph 'Adîd, used for this reason to frequent the monastery of Our Lady at el 'Adawiya, eighteen miles south of Cairo, and contributed to its support in return for the monks' hospitality. The caliph Anûs, a great lover of gardens, delighted in the monastery of Nahya, west of Giza, where he built a belvedere, and whence he used to go out hunting. Every time he went he gave the monks a thousand dirhems. He amused himself by standing in the priest's place in the church, but he refused to bow in order to enter the low door, and compromised matters by stooping and going in backwards.¹ The revenue of the Egyptian churches, largely derived from Fatimid gifts, amounted in 1180 to 2,000² and 4820 sacks (of 5 bushels) of corn, and they owned 615 acres of land.

¹ Abû-Sâlih ii. 25, 74, 404, 61-2, etc.

On the death of Hâfîz in October 1149, his youngest son ez-Zâhir¹ was set on the throne. He was a gay,



Fig. 38.
Glass weight of ez-Zâhir

handsome, careless youth of 16, who thought more of girls and songs than of arms and politics, and was wholly managed by the shrewd vezîr Ibn-es-Salâr, a Kurd and an orthodox Sunni, who was styled el-Melik el-'Adil. He had driven out the caliph's nominee, Ibn-Masâl, and was consequently hated by ez-Zâhir

(whose "young guard" he suppressed and well-nigh exterminated in 1150), and as heartily detested by the people, whose lives were never safe from his executioners. His assassination by his wife's grandson, Na'ar, followed by the murder of the caliph by the same treacherous hands, belongs to one of the darkest chapters of Egyptian history. We have the story from the pen of a contemporary, the Arab chief Osama, who used to hawk cranes and herons with Hâfîz's court, was the guest of Ibn-es-Salâr, and the intimate, if not instigator, of his murderer.² The vezîr's skull was placed in the Museum of Heads in the finance department by the overjoyed caliph, who gave the handsome young assassin twenty silver plates covered each with 20,000 D., and encouraged him to follow up his first essay in the fine art. The suggestion was that he should make away with his own father and fellow-conspirator 'Abbâs, who had succeeded to the vezirate of his murdered stepfather, Ibn-es-Salâr. Na'ar was not indisposed to the second crime, and 'Abbâs, scenting danger, prepared to poison his son. The strained situation was relieved by the murder of the trusting caliph at a friendly entertainment in the young villain's own house. The next day Osama was sitting in the palace porch, when he suddenly heard the clash of

¹ Abû-Manâzir Ismâ'îl ez-Zâfir-li-'adâli-lîni-lîh, "the conqueror of the enemies of God's religion," struck coins only at Nile and Alexandria, dated from 1149-50 to 1153-4.

² See H. Derenbourg, *Vis d'Osama*, 205-260.

swords. it was his friend 'Abbās with his thousand swordsmen, who had gone to the palace ostensibly to inquire for the vanished caliph, and was now massacring the caliph's brothers, whom he had the assurance to tax with the mysterious crime. The baby heir was displayed to the weeping court mounted on the wezīr's shoulder, and the soldiers shouted their mercenary homage. So ghastly was the scene that one of the old janitors of the palace died of terror behind his door with the key in his hand. Cairo rose in revolt, there was

fighting in the streets, and the very women and children of the harāms threw stones from the windows upon the wezīr's retainers, who immediately deserted him. 'Abbās could not withstand the storm of indignation and vengeance,

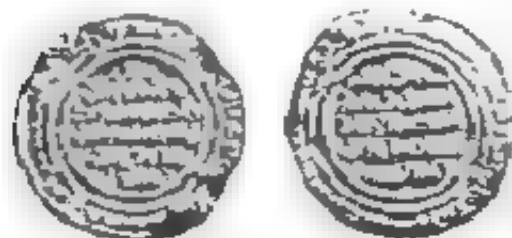


Fig. 39.
Dirhām of al-Fāz, Mīr, 1149.

and fled towards Syria.¹ On the way he was surprised and killed by the Franks probably those of Montréal or of Karak by the Dead Sea, who had been set on his track by one of the murdered caliph's sisters. The source of all this tragedy, the inhuman Naṣr, was sold by the Templars to the avengers for 60,000 *D*, sent to Cairo in an iron cage, tortured by the women of the court, paraded through the city without nose or ears, crucified alive at the Bāb-Zawīla, and left to hang there for many months.

The poor little child of four years, who entered upon his caliphate amidst all these horrors, and nearly died of fright on the awful day of his accession, was proclaimed with the title of al-Fāz (1154-1160).² During the tumult

¹ A graphic account of these events is given by the eye-witness Osāma, possibly the lago of the tragedy (Derenbourg, *Vie*, 238-258).

² Abū al-Kāsim Isā al-Fāz-bi-naṣri-llāh, "the overcomer by God's help." His coins were from the mints of Mīr and Alexandria, 1154-5 to 1160.

that succeeded the murder of his kindred, the women of the palace had cut off their hair in mourning and sent it—the strongest possible sign of entreaty in a Muslima—to the emir Talai ibn-Ruzzik, the governor of Lakhmuniya, imploring him to come to the rescue. It was his advance, supported by the Arab tribes of the desert, and joined by the Süddani troops of the household, many emirs, and the general mob of Cairo, that had compelled the instant flight of 'Abbās. Waving the women's tresses upon his lance, Ibn-Ruzzik entered Cairo and took possession of the Dār-el-Ma'mūn, the sumptuous palace of 'Abbās and before him of Ibn-el-Batā'ih.¹ He went to the room of the murderer Naṣr, raised a flagstone pointed out in the pavement, and there found the body of the murdered Zahr, which he interred in the mausoleum of the caliphs amid universal lamentation. Then he set about restoring order, punishing the guilty, executing the truculent generals who had made havoc in Cairo for so many years, and establishing a reign of law.

Ḥ-Melik es-Sālīḥ, as he was now styled, was a strong man, and Egypt was sorely in need of strong men at that time. Ascalon, her last outpost in Palestine, had fallen away from her during the divisions and confusion that followed upon Ibn-es-Sālār's assassination. It had long been a source of great solicitude, frequently attacked by the kings of Jerusalem, and doggedly defended by a large garrison, which was renewed twice a year from Egypt. The hurried return of one of these six-months' commanders, 'Abbās, to enjoy the fruits of his stepfather's assassination, left it comparatively unprotected; the Christians seized the occasion, and with the capture of Ascalon in the summer of 1153 vanished the last hold of the Fāṭimids on Palestine. That the Crusading rule had not been extended over Egypt itself was chiefly due to the growing power of the Turkish states on the east. The king of Jerusalem was too closely occupied, first with the savage onslaughts of Zengi, the Atābeg of Mōḡl, who

¹ It was converted by Saladin in 1177 into the Ḥanafi "College of the Swordmakers" (Maḡr. ii 365-6).

had joined Aleppo to his dominions on the Tigris and Euphrates, harried Syria and defeated the Crusaders with great slaughter at Akhârîb in 1130, and had finally taken Edessa, "the conquest of conquests," in 1144.¹ After the death of Zengi two years later, his son Nûr-ed-din succeeded to his post as champion of Islâm in Syria, and greatly strengthened his position by the annexation in 1154 of Damascus, which had long been in defensive alliance with the Crusaders. The collapse of the second Crusade under the emperor Conrad and Louis VII had disheartened and discredited the Franks; and the establishment of so strong a power as Nûr-ed-din's kingdom at Aleppo and Damascus in the immediate north and east rendered the position of the Jerusalem kingdom extremely insecure. Had Egypt been strong, had Egypt been of the same orthodox creed, a combination with Damascus would doubtless have driven the Crusaders to the coast—as such a union did a little later. The Egyptian wazirs were fully alive to the value of Nûr-ed-din's support, and Ibn es-Sâîr had opened negotiations with him through the mediation of Osâma, who was well-known at both courts. But the weak point of Nûr-ed-din was excessive caution, and his ambition was satisfied with the ample dominions he possessed, without venturing upon wider schemes. Moreover, whilst as a notably devout Muslim he was bound to wage the Holy War against the infidels, his very piety raised scruples against any alliance with the schismatic caliph of Egypt. Thus it fell out that whilst the fear of Nûr-ed-din restrained the Franks from invading Egypt,² the horror of heresy withheld the sultan of Damascus from co-operation with Egypt against the common enemy.

Neither Damascus nor Jerusalem could afford to let Egypt fall into the hands of the other, and thus we find Cairo becoming the centre of diplomatic activity. The

¹ See an outline of Zengi's career in Lane-Poole, *Life of Saladin*, 35-61.

² The Sicilian fleet made a descent on Tinnîs in 1153, and again in 1155, but after plundering the coast cities it attempted no serious occupation of the country.

wezir Šāḥīh ibn-Ruzzik was eager for an alliance with Nūr-ed-Dīn, and his pourparlers, expressed in elegant Arabic verse addressed to his friend Osāma, who was now again at Damascus, enlarged on a victory won by the Egyptian army under Dirghām near Gaza over the Franks in March, 1154, extolled the valour and numbers of the troops and ships of Egypt, and urged Nur-ed-din to bestir himself to similar efforts, sketching a glorious campaign of combined triumphs.¹ He got nothing but evasive replies, couched in vague poetic metaphor, from Osāma; Nur-ed-din evidently distrusted the Egyptian proposals. Ibn-Ruzzik even sent a formal embassy in October to Damascus, with handsome presents and a collection of the wezīr's war-songs, offering 70,000 *D.* towards the Holy War, but wholly in vain.

Failing in his policy of combined action against the Crusaders, Ibn-Ruzzik was yet successful in maintaining order in Egypt itself. "He was eminent by his personal merit," says Ibn-Khallikān, "profuse in largesse, accessible to suitors, a generous patron to men of talent, and a

good poet." His verse was collected in two volumes, and he had a bad habit of reciting it to his friends, not without retaliation. Like other wezīrs, he built a mosque, the ruins of which are still to be seen close to the Bāb-Zawila, though much of the decoration is attributed to a later restoration. He was not above avarice, however, and farmed the taxes to the highest bidders on six



Fig. 40. Glass weight of el-Aqād.

months' tenures to the great injury of the fellāḥīn. He might have long survived their discontent, but he ran a more serious risk in imposing a strict regimen upon the caliph's household. The little caliph Fāiz had died in July, 1160, at the age of eleven, after six years of virtual captivity and constant epileptic seizures. His successor,

¹ See the poetical correspondence in the autobiography of Osāma, and Derenbourg *Vie d'Osāma*, 285-295.

el-'Ādīd' (1160-1171), the last of the Fāṭimid caliphs, was only nine, and was chosen from the various possible heirs simply because his childhood made him easy to manage. But the wazīr had to reckon with the women of the harem, who hated his rigorous control; and an aunt of the caliph succeeded in procuring the great man's assassination. As Ibn-Ruzzik lay dying, he begged the child to send the guilty woman to be punished, and had her executed before his eyes. His last words were a regret that he had not conquered Jerusalem and exterminated the Franks, and a warning to his son to beware of Shāwar, the Arab governor of Upper Egypt. The regret and the warning were well founded. Shāwar deposed and executed the wazīr's son, el-'Ādīl Ruzzik, at the beginning of 1163, and within the year the Christian king of Jerusalem was in Egypt.

¹¹⁶¹
The interference of Amalric was the result of a fresh
Aug. change in the wazīrate. Shāwar was driven from Cairo by the popular favourite, Dirghām, a Lakhmi Arab, who had successfully commanded the troops against the Crusaders at Gaza, and held the post of colonel of the Barkiya battalion and "lord of the door"—an office second only to that of wazīr. Shāwar fled to Nūr-ed-dīn and implored his help. He offered not only to pay the cost of an expedition, but promised a third of the revenues of Egypt in the form of an annual tribute.¹ The king of Syria was not indifferent to the importance of obtaining a hold upon Egypt: he knew that it was the master-key of the political situation and would form a prolific source of revenue. Yet he hesitated to accept Shāwar's overtures. Distrust of the man himself, and apprehension of the risks to which an expedition would be exposed when marching through the desert on the Crusaders' flank, made him pause. Events, however, moved too fast for his prudence. Dirghām quarrelled

¹ Abū-Mohammad 'Abdallāh el-'Ādīd-E-dīn-illāh, "the strengthener of the religion of God." His few coins were struck at Mīṣr (1161 and 1164-5), Cairo (1160, 1167-1171), and Alexandria (1167-71).

² The following account of the conquest of Egypt by Nūr-ed-dīn's armies is slightly abridged from Lane-Poole, *Life of Saladin*, pp. 81-97.

with Amalric over the yearly subsidy (which had apparently been paid of late by the wazirs of Egypt to the Franks to stave off a Christian invasion¹), and the new king of Jerusalem with prompt decision invaded Egypt. Dirghām, after a severe defeat near Bilbeys, ingeniously avoided total discomfiture by breaking down the dams and causeways and flooding the country with the imprisoned waters of the Nile, then at its height. Amalric had already retired to Palestine, but half-satisfied with some sort of composition, when Dirghām, hearing of Shāwar's negotiations at Damascus, perceived his error in not conciliating the Latin king, and hastened to proffer an eternal alliance, to be cemented by increased tribute. This step must have been known to Nūr-ed-dīn fortified by an auspicious consultation of the Korān, he immediately cast his former scruples to the winds; and before Amalric could intervene, Shāwar was on the march to Egypt, supported by a strong force of Turkmāns from Damascus, led by Shirkūh, with his nephew Saladin on his staff.

The Egyptians were defeated at Bilbeys, but rallied again under the walls of Cairo. For several days indecisive conflicts took place, Shāwar holding Fustāt, and the other the castle of Cairo. Then, to raise funds, Dirghām possessed himself of the *wakf*, the "money of the orphans," and at once the people began to fall away from him. Worse still, he was deserted by the caliph and the army. Driven to bay, for the last time he sounded the assembly. In vain "the drums beat and the trumpets blared, *sis-sha-lah!* on the battlements": no man answered. In vain the desperate emir, surrounded by his bodyguard of 500 horse, all that remained to him of a powerful army, stood suppliant before the caliph's palace for a whole day, even until the

¹ William of Tyre calls it *annuus tributū penitentie* (*Hist.*, xix. 3), and others give the amount as 33,000 *D.* The tribute or blackmail must have been very recently instituted, for Ibn Ruzbih, who died in 1161, assuredly would have paid no such subsidy to the "infidels." Probably Shāwar began the payment in 1162, but the fact cannot be proved.

sunset call to prayer, and inspired him by the memory of his forefathers to stand forth at the window and bless his cause. No answer came; the guard itself gradually dispersed, till only thirty troopers were left. Suddenly a warning cry reached him: "Look to thyself and save thy life!"—and lo! Shāwar's trumpets and drums were heard, entering from the Gate of the Bridge. Then at last the deserted leader rode out through the Zawla gate: the helle folk hacked off his head, and bore it in triumph through the streets; his body they left to be worried by the crows. Such was the tragic end of a brave and gallant gentleman, poet, and paladin.

May Shāwar, restored to power, was eager to see the backs of the allies who had effected his reinstatement. He cautiously excluded Shirkūh from the fortified city of Cairo and kept him in the suburbs. Then safe, as he thought, within his own strong walls, he defied his ally, broke all his promises, and refused to pay the indemnity. Shirkūh was not the man to forego his rights or condone broken faith; he sent Saladin to occupy Bilbeys and the eastern province. This hostile movement compelled Shawar in turn to appeal to Amalric. On the arrival of the Crusaders the Syrian army entrenched itself at Bilbeys, where it resisted all assaults for three months. A fortunate diversion at last came to its relief. Nūr-ed-dīn was waging a successful campaign in Palestine. After a reverse at the hands of Gilbert de Lacy and Robert Mansel, he had taken Hama; and was laying siege to Caesarea Philippi; and Amalric was sorely wanted at home to protect his own kingdom, always dangerously exposed upon its eastern marches. Nor was Shirkūh less anxious to extricate himself from a situation where, attacked all day and every day, penned in behind weak earthworks, and running short of food, his position was neither safe nor agreeable. An armistice was accordingly arranged, and the two parties came to terms. On the 27th of October, the Syrians marched out of their camp and filed off between the lines of the allied Crusaders and Egyptians, Shirkūh himself, battle-axe in hand, bringing up the rear.

The expedition to Egypt had ended without glory, but it had accomplished its object; it had spied out the land, and Shirkūh was able to report favourably on the possibility and advantages of annexation. Egypt was a country, he said, "without ~~men~~, and with a precarious and contemptible government." Its wealth and defencelessness invited aggression. The ambitious general was devoured by desire for a viceregal throne at Cairo, and from this time forth he persistently urged Nūr-ed-dīn to authorize the conquest of Egypt. The bolder spirits at court supported his importunity, and the caliph of Baghdād accorded his blessing and encouragement to a project which involved the deposition of his heretical rival. Nūr-ed-dīn, ever cautious, resisted these influences for a while, but at last gave way,—possibly because rumours had reached him of a closer union between Shukar and the Franks, which soon proved to be well founded.

It was, in fact, a race for the Nile. Shirkūh started ¹¹⁰⁷ first, at the beginning of 1107, with 2000 picked horsemen, and, taking the desert route by the Gazelle Valley to avoid a collision with the Franks, but encountering on the way a violent and disastrous sandstorm, reached the Nile at Atfih, some forty miles south of Cairo, where he might cross to the west bank without fear of molestation. He had hardly earned his army over, however, when Amalric appeared on the east side, having hurried from Palestine as soon as he heard of the enemy's movements. The two armies followed the opposite banks down to Cairo, where Amalric pitched his camp close to Fustāt, whilst Shirkūh took up a position exactly facing him at Gīza. There each waited for the other to begin operations. Meanwhile, Amalric took the opportunity of the west's amicable dispositions to place their alliance on a more formal basis. Convinced of the unstable character of the minister, he resolved to have a treaty ratified by the caliph in person. The conditions were that Egypt should pay the king 200,000 gold pieces then and there, and a further like sum at a later date, in return for his aid in expelling the enemy. On this

agreement Amalric gave his hand to the caliph's representatives, and claimed a like ratification from the caliph himself.

The introduction of Christian ambassadors to the sacred presence, where few even of the most exalted Muslims were admitted, was unprecedented, but Amalric was in a position to dictate his own terms. Permission was granted, and Hugh of Caesarea with Geoffrey Fulcher the Templar were selected for the unique embassy. The wezir himself conducted them with every detail of oriental ceremony and display to the Great Palace of the Fâtîmids. They were led by mysterious corridors and through guarded doors, where stalwart Sôdîns saluted with naked swords. They reached a spacious court, open to the sky, and surrounded by arcades resting on marble pillars; the panelled ceilings were carved and inlaid in gold and colours; the pavement was rich mosaic. The unaccustomed eyes of the rude knights opened wide with wonder at the taste and refinement that met them at every step,—here they saw marble fountains, birds of many notes and wondrous plumage, strangers to the western world; there, in a further hall, more exquisite even than the first, "a variety of animals such as the ingenious hand of the painter might depict, or the license of the poet invent, or the mind of the sleeper conjure up in the visions of the night,—such, indeed, as the regions of the East and the South bring forth, but the West sees never, and scarcely hears of." At last, after many turns and windings, they reached the throne room, where the multitude of the pages and their sumptuous dress proclaimed the splendour of their lord. Thrice did the wezir, ungirding his sword, prostrate himself to the ground, as though in humble supplication to his god; then, with a sudden rapid sweep, the heavy curtains brodered with gold and pearls were drawn aside, and on a golden throne, robed in more than regal state, the caliph sat revealed.

The wezir humbly presented the foreign knights, and set forth in lowly words the urgent danger from without,

and the great friendship of the king of Jerusalem. The caliph, a swarthy youth emerging from boyhood,—*fuscus, procerus corpore, facie venusta*,—replied with suave dignity. He was willing, he said, to confirm in the amplest way the engagements made with his beloved ally. But when asked to give his hand in pledge of faithfulness he hesitated, and a thrill of indignation at the stranger's presumption ran through the listening court. After a pause, however, the caliph offered his hand—gloved as it was—to Sir Hugh. The blunt knight spoke him straight: "My lord, troth has no covering: in the good faith of princes, all is naked and open." Then at last, very unwillingly, as though derogating from his dignity, the caliph, forcing a smile, drew off the glove and put his hand in Hugh's, swearing word by word to keep the covenant truly and in all good faith.¹

The treaty thus ratified, Amalric attempted to throw a bridge of boats across the Nile; but the presence of the enemy on the other side defeated the plan, and he resorted to another. Descending to where the river forked into its two main streams, he conveyed his army over to the delta by night, and thence to the other side, in ships. Shirkūh discovered the movement too late to oppose, and finding the enemy landed he retreated to Upper Egypt. The king pursuing came up with him at "the two Gates" (el-Bābān), ten miles south of Minya. Here was a plain, on the border where the cultivated land touched the desert, and numerous sandy hills gave cover to the combatants. Shirkūh's captains at first advised him not to risk a battle; but one of them stood forth and said stoutly, "Those who fear death or slavery are not fit to serve kings: let them turn ploughmen, or stay at home with their wives." Saladin and others applauded; and Shirkūh, always ready for hard knocks,²¹⁶⁷ gladly gave battle (18 April, 1167). He put the ^{4th}

¹ William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, lib. xix., cap. 19. 20. The embassy is not recorded by the Arabic chroniclers.

baggage in the centre, covered by Saladin's troop, which was to bear the first brunt of the attack. Saladin's orders were to fall back when pressed and draw the enemy in pursuit, and then to press them in turn, as the fight might allow. Shirkūh himself took command of the right wing, composed of a body of picked horsemen, which was to cut up the enemy's rear, consisting of the less warlike Egyptians. It fell out as he expected. The Franks were drawn away by Saladin, the Egyptians were cut up and routed, and when the Crusaders, returning from the pursuit, found their allies fled, they also hastily retreated, abandoning their baggage and leaving Hugh of Casaria among the prisoners.¹ The victors, however, were not strong enough to follow up the success, march on to Cairo, and run Shāwar and Anlāric to earth. Taking the lesser risk, Shirkūh went north by a desert route and entered Alexandria without opposition. Here he installed Saladin as governor, with one half of his army, while with the other he again turned southwards to levy contributions in Upper Egypt.

The joint forces of the Franks and Egyptians now invested Alexandria, whilst the Christian fleet held the coast. The defence of the city was Saladin's first independent command, and he quitted himself well. He had but a thousand followers of his own, in the midst of a mongrel and partly foreign populace, who, as malcontents, were not sorry to take part against a feeble government or to defend their city against the savage and bloodthirsty Franks; yet, as merchants and tradesmen, could not conceal their terror of the siege-machines and infernal engines which the "infidels" brought against their walls. Provisions, moreover, ran short; and short rations make a humble stomach. At last they

¹ Ibn al Athīr, *Kāmil*, 548; according to his *Atthar* it was a month earlier. The numbers engaged are variously estimated. The Arab historians give Shirkūh only 2000 horsemen. William of Tyre (luc. 25), on the other hand, puts the Saracen force at 9000 men mailed (*fortius galatasque*), 3000 archers, and at least 10,000 Arabs armed with spears. The Latins, he says, had only 374 knights, an uncertain number of light infantry (*Turcopoles*), and a body of Egyptians who were more a burden than a help.

rose in a tumult and openly talked of surrender. Saladin meanwhile had sent to his uncle for help, and Shirkūh was hurrying down from Kās laden with treasure. The news put fresh heart into the people, already spurred on by Saladin's spirited exhortations and the promise of reinforcement, or frightened into a desperate courage by his tales of the monstrous barbarities inflicted by the Franks upon the vanquished. They held out for seventy-five days, in spite of hunger and incessant assaults, till it became known that Shirkūh was at the Abyssinians' Lake, laying siege to Cairo. On this, Amalric gave up all thoughts of Alexandria, and a peace was arranged, by which both parties agreed to leave Egypt to the Egyptians. Alexandria was surrendered to Shāwar; prisoners were exchanged; and Shirkūh led the exhausted remnant of his 2000 troopers back to Damascus.

The Christians claimed the campaign as a triumph, and the evacuation of Alexandria as a surrender, but if the Arab chroniclers are right in saying that Amalric paid Shirkūh 50,000 pieces of gold to go away, the advantage would appear to have been on the side of the Muslims. On the other hand the Franks, in violation (apparently) of their agreement, not only left a Resident at Cairo, but insisted on furnishing the guards of the city gates from their own soldiers; they also increased the annual subsidy to be paid by Shāwar to the king of Jerusalem to 100,000 gold pieces.

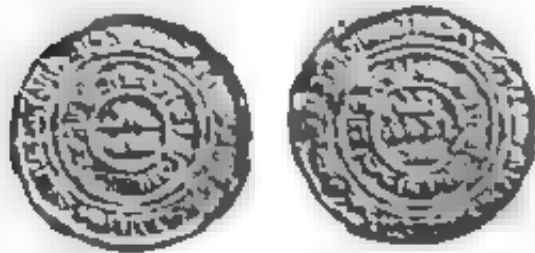


Fig. 41 —Dinār of el-'Āḍid, Cairo, 1168.

this hold, the more impetuous among Amalric's counselors presently began to urge the complete conquest of Egypt, and their advice was strongly supported by the garrison they had left at Cairo and

Fustāṭ, who had naturally the best means of discovering the weakness of their defences. The king of Jerusalem

once more marched into Egypt; but now he entered as an enemy where before he had been bidden as an ally. Arrived at Bilbeys on 3 November, 1168, he added to perfidy the crime of wholesale massacre,—he spared neither age nor sex, says the Latin chronicler, in the devoted town.

This barbarous act at once ranged the Egyptians on the side of Nūr-ed-dīn, and inspired them to heroic exertions. They took advantage of the Christians' foolish loitering to marshal their forces and strengthen their defences. The old city of Fustat, for three hundred years the metropolis of Egypt and still a densely populated suburb of Cairo, was by Shāwar's orders set on fire, that it might not give shelter to the Franks. Twenty thousand naphtha barrels and ten thousand torches were lighted. The fire lasted fifty four days, and its traces may still be found in the wilderness of sand heaps stretching over miles of buried rubbish on the south side of Cairo.¹ The people fled "as from their very graves," the father abandoned his children, the brother his twin, and all rushed to Cairo for dear life. The hire of a camel for the mile or two of transit cost thirty pieces of gold. The capital itself was in a tumult of preparation for the attack. The assault, however, was postponed by the negotiations which Shāwar adroitly contrived, to buy off his greedy assailants. There was more pretence than honesty in his diplomacy, for he was sending at the same moment couriers to Damascus to implore the aid of Nūr-ed-dīn. The young caliph of Egypt wrote himself, and even enclosed some of his wives' hair as a supreme act of supplication which no gentleman could resist.

This time the king of Syria did not hesitate; he was nettled at the poor results of the two previous expeditions, and indignant with the Franks for what he held to be a flagrant breach of faith. He might even have gone in person, but that he was preoccupied with the

¹ The population reoccupied the burnt city to some extent for a century, and its final abandonment and demolition dates from the reign of Beybars (Zakariyāh, 58).

unsettled state of Mesopotamia. He lost no time, however, in despatching a force of 2000 picked troopers from his own guard, with 4000 paid Turkmen of approved valour, under the command of Shirkuh, supported by a large staff of emulous emirs. Nūr-ed-dīn himself superintended the marshalling of the army at the Spring Head, a day's march from Damascus, and gave every man a gratuity of twenty gold pieces, whilst he committed to Shirkuh 200,000 *D.* for his military chest.

On 17 Dec., 1168, the third expedition began its march to Egypt, once more to rescue Shāwar, in name, but in fact with far larger designs. Amalric, always needy and greedy, was still waiting before Cairo for more of the wazir's promised gold, when Shirkuh suddenly effected his junction with the Egyptians (8 Jan., 1169),¹¹⁶⁹ evading the Frank army which had gone out to inter-¹¹⁶⁹cept his advance. Deceived by Shāwar and outgeneralled by Shirkuh, the discomfited king retired to Palestine without offering battle, having gained, as the proverb has it, nothing better than the "boots of Hoveyn." The Syrians entered Cairo in triumph, and were welcomed as deliverers. The grateful caliph gave audience to Shirkuh and invested him with a robe of honour, clothed in which he returned to display himself to the army. Shāwar, inwardly devoured by jealousy and alarm, rode out daily to the Syrian camp, in great state, with all his banners, drums, and trumpets, and overwhelmed the general with protestations of devotion; but meanwhile he took no steps to perform his engagements to Nūr-ed-dīn, but was actually meditating a treacherous arrest of Shirkuh and his officers at a friendly banquet. The Syrian leaders soon determined that he was not to be trusted, and Saladin and G'urdik resolved to get rid of him. As the wazir was riding out to visit the general, who chanced to be paying his respects to the venerated tomb of the Imām ash-Shāfi'i, Saladin and his men dragged him from his horse and made him prisoner. Whatever doubts Shirkuh may have entertained as to the fate of Shāwar were set at rest by a peremptory order from the caliph himself, who demanded the head

of the wezir. Thus ended the brief and checkered career of a remarkable and politic minister, an Arab chief, moreover, of ancient lineage, with all the Bedawi's daring and the ancestral love of poetry—inasmuch that he once filled 'Omāra's mouth with gold in delight at an ode—and, it must be added, with the Arab's full share of falsehood and deceit.

The caliph al-'Ādid, who was much impressed by the gallant bearing of his deliverers, immediately appointed Shirkūh to the vacant office, clad him in the robes of wezir, invested him with plenary powers, and gave him the titles of el-Malik en-Nāir, "Victorious King," and Commander-in-chief. The people were as pleased as the pontiff; they had liked the jolly soldier as he rode over the country a year and a half ago, even though he was levying taxes, and the Cairenes appreciated the liberal manner in which he had disbursed from his heavy military chest, and had refreshed them with the looting of Shāwar's palace, where they left not so much as a cushion for his lavish successor to sit on. The Arab poet saw more clearly when he remarked that the claws of "the Lion"¹ were now fastened on his prey. The "Lion of the Faith," however, lived scarcely more than two months to enjoy his quarry, but died suddenly, 23 March, 1169. He was succeeded by his nephew, the famous Saladin, and two years later the Fātimid Caliphate was abolished.

It is remarkable that, although several of the Fātimid caliphs were men of intellectual culture and highly appreciative of literary talent, the period of their rule was unproductive in writers of exceptional merit. It was not for lack of patronage, for the wezirs of Egypt, as well as some of the caliphs, were often generous in their gifts to scholars, poets, and divines. The wezir Ibn-Kilas used to hold meetings every Thursday night, when he would read his compositions to the assembled savans, rhetoricians, grammarians, and divines, and poets

¹ Aūd-ed-dīn, "Lion of the Faith," was the Arabic surname of Shirkūh, which is itself Persian for "Mountain-Lion."

would recite their verses, usually panegyrics of their host. He employed a regular staff in transcribing manuscripts, and every day a large table was laid for the learned men who joined his household and other guests. The caliph's physician, *et-Tamim* of Jerusalem, was a man of real science, and his librarian, *esh-Shibushit*, wrote a history of the monasteries. *Abū-r-Rakīmak* of Antioch (†1008-9), whom *Tha'alabi* described as 'the pearl of his age, the amalgam of excellences, master of poetry in its light as in its serious moods,' was among the panegyrists who attended the levees of *Ibn-Kalbi*, and wrote odes in praise of him and of the caliphs *Mo'izz*, *'Aziz*, and *Hakim*. *El-Kindi*, the historian and topographer of Egypt (†961), lived at Fustāt, and his continuator, *Ibn Zūlk* (†997), an Egyptian, also wrote a history of the *Kādis*. But the most famous men of the early Fatimid time were the *Kādī en-No'mān* and his sons and grandsons, who held the highest legal and religious offices for forty years, from the conquest of Egypt to the middle of the reign of *Hakim*, who accorded them special privileges. These *Kādis*, like most of their order, were not merely learned in the law and able judges, but men of the highest education of the age, familiar with all branches of Arabic literature, and themselves historians and poets. Another celebrated civil servant (though he wore a uniform) of the time of *Hakim* was *el-Musebbihī* (†1029), an Egyptian by birth, who wrote the history of his country in 26,000 pages, and other works on religion, poetry, astrology, curiosities of literature and history, and the arts of the table, to the extent of 35,000 pages more. The wealth of the Fatimid court and the encouragement given to the polite sciences drew many foreigners to Cairo. *El-Kudā'i*, the historian and jurist (†1062), *Ibn Bābshādh*, the grammarian (†1077), and *Abū-Ya'qūb en-Nagīramī* (†1126) of Bāṣra, a distinguished philologist, were amongst these visitors; and the Arabic manuscripts on philology, poetry, and the "Days" of the Arabs, copied by the last's accurate pen at an extremely moderate price, or delivered orally at his precise dictation, long remained the received texts in

Egypt. The poet Ibn-el-Khallâl (†1171), described by his contemporary, 'Imâd-ed-dîn (Saladin's secretary), as "the pupil of Egypt's eye, combining all the noble qualities of his country," at the time of Hafiz, was president of the correspondence department, where the art of writing despatches in the most elaborate style was studiously cultivated. When a candidate for admission was asked what qualifications he possessed for the art of correspondence, he replied, "None, except that I know the Korân and the *Hamiâsa* by heart." "That will do," said Ibn-el-Khallâl. It was as though an Englishman should say that he could repeat the whole of the Bible and the "Golden Treasury." The weak Ibn-es-Sâkir was a devout Shâfi'ite Muslim as well as a tyrannical governor, and the college he founded at Alexandria to propagate the teaching of the theological school initiated by the Imam Shâfi' had an excellent president in the eminent traditioner and divine es-Silâfi of Ispahan (†1180), among whose pupils was Ibn-el-Garrâh (†1210), the poet, calligrapher, and ornament of the correspondence office. He elaborated a riddle which takes three large quarto pages to unravel. The Kâdîes-Rashîd ibn-es-Zabeyr (†1167), poet and accomplished man of letters, was another of Ibn-es-Sâkir's friends.

That there was not a larger number of distinguished scholars during the two centuries of Fâtimid rule in Egypt is partly due to the insecurity of life—the court poet, 'Abd el-Ghaffar for example, was wantonly beheaded by Hâkim, as were some of the celebrated Nô'mân Kâdîs—but much more to the heretical character of the dynasty. Orthodox Muslims shunned the court of caliphs whose doctrines and claims they utterly repudiated. A great deal of intellectual activity, however, was shown by the rank and file of students in Cairo during this period, and although the University of the Azhar had not yet attained the celebrity which it acquired under the orthodox rule of the succeeding dynasties, there was already the nucleus of a great theological school. The era of Egyptian colleges begins with the reign of Saladin.

In art, as has been shown, the immense wealth of the

Fatimids tended to encourage the production of costly and beautiful objects of luxury, and the caliphs and their vezirs were notable builders. The great mosques of el-Azhar (though restored out of all semblance to the original design) and Hākim are still standing to testify to their zeal, and the remains of the smaller mosques or chapels of el-Aḫmar and of es-Ṣalīḥ ibn-Ruzzik display the bold and effective designs and austere Kūfic inscriptions for which Fātimid art is renowned. The three massive gates of Cairo, built by Roman architects and resembling in plan and in details the heavy gates of Byzantine fortresses, are among the most enduring relics of the Shi'a government in Egypt, and it is worth noticing that the heretical formula of faith inscribed in beautiful Kūfic characters over the Gate of Victory in the reign of Mustansir has triumphantly survived eight centuries of dominant orthodoxy.

CHAPTER VII

SALADIN

1169—1193

Authorities.—Ibn-*ed-dīn*, Ibn-*el-Athīr*, *Imād-ed-dīn*, Abū *Ṣāḥib*, Abu-*Shīma*, Ibn-*Khallikān*, *el-Maqrīzī*; William of Tyre, Ernoul, *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*; Lane-Poole's *Life of Saladin* (1893).

Monuments.—Citadel of Cairo and third wal of city.

Inscriptions.—Irrigation decree at Damascus, A.H. 574; restoration tablet in great mosque of Damascus, 575 (these two have disappeared, but are recorded by Waddington and van Berchem); citadel of Cairo 579 (Casanova, *Mém. Miss. Arch.*, vi. 569); mosque of el-*Aḳṣā*, Jerusalem (de Vogüé, *Temple de Jér.*, 101); Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, 585 (de Vogüé, 91); *Kubbat Yūsuf*, Jerusalem; Church of St Anna, Jerusalem, 588 (de Vogüé, *Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, 244, van Berchem, *Inscr. Ar. de Syrie. Mém. de l'Inst. Egypt.*, 1897, Pl. v. fig. 10), tomb of Saladin, Damascus (inscr. disappeared, but recorded by Ibn-*Khallikān*, iv. 547).

Coins.—Minted at Cairo, *Misr*, Alexandria, Damascus, *Ḥamāh*, Aleppo.

Glass weights.—Bearing name of *ʿAbbāsīd* caliphs el-*Mustaḍl* and en-*Nāṣir*, without Saladin's name or date (Lane-Poole, *Cat. Arab. Glass Weights in B.M.*, 36-8).

THE epoch of Saladin's rule, though brief, was the most glorious in the history of Muslim domination in Egypt; but it owed its glory to causes outside. Of his reign of twenty four years, Saladin¹ passed only eight at Cairo; the other sixteen were spent in campaigns in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. These external wars can only be briefly described here, and the chief place must

¹ Saladin is the European softened form of *Ṣalāḥ-ed-dīn*, "Honour of the Faith." His full names and titles were El-Melik en-Nāṣir Abū l-Muẓaffar *Ṣalāḥ-ed-dunyā wa-d-dīn* Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb.

be given to the affairs of Egypt proper.¹ Saladin was born at Tekrit in 1137-8, the son of Ayyūb, a Kurdish officer in the employment of the Bighdād caliph and afterwards of the Atābeg Zengi of Mōsil. His youth was entirely undistinguished; and when his father became governor of Damascus, Saladin lived ten years at the court of Nūr ed din without making any mark. He took no part, apparently in the Syrian campaigns of his uncle Shirkūh, who was Nur-ed-din's chief general; he loved retirement, and up to the age of twenty five remained a completely obscure individual. He did indeed accompany the expeditions to Egypt in 1164 and 1167, and distinguished himself at the battle of Rāḥān and the defence of Alexandria, but it was with great reluctance that he joined the third expedition in 1168, which proved to be his stepping-stone to empire. His succession to the office of wazir of the Fāṭimid caliph on his uncle's death in March, 1169, was due, no doubt, partly to his kinship, but chiefly, as it seems, to the belief of the Egyptian court that so young and apparently unambitious a man would be easy to manage. His own comrades resented the appointment, and though the majority were won over by tact and presents, a certain number of jealous veterans retired to Syria.

The young wazir's position was curiously anomalous. He was at once the prime-minister of an heretical (Shi'a) caliph and the lieutenant of an orthodox (Sunni) king. With superb inconsistency the two names were included in the same prayer every Friday in the mosque. The Muslim population belonged to both creeds, but it may be assumed that two centuries of Fāṭimid rule had given some predominance to the Shi'a doctrine. To win the loyalty of the people was Saladin's first object, in order to strengthen himself against the obvious jealousy of his sovereign, the king of Syria, and pave the way for the abolition of the Shi'a caliphate and the foundation of an independent monarchy in Egypt.

¹ This necessary limitation may be compensated by reference to the recently published *Life of Saladin* by the present writer, from which the following pages are partly abridged.

Saladin's generosity and personal charm soon gained him the confidence of the Egyptians, and the substitution of his own father and brothers,—a conspicuously able and gallant family,—in the place of suspected officers of the court, strengthened his position. A rising of the caliph's black troops was repressed after some hard fighting in the streets, and the Sūdānis were banished to the Sūd, where rebellion smouldered for several years. Hardly was the negro revolt checked when Damietta was attacked by the combined fleets of the Eastern emperor and the king of Jerusalem, numbering 220 galleys. Saladin had just time to reinforce the garrison, which proved equal to repulsing even the powerful mangonels and movable siege-towers of the enemy, whilst the army of Cairo harassed them outside. Famine and storm came to the aid of the Muslims, and the half-drowned starving invaders made peace and returned in great dejection to Palestine. This was the turning-point in the Franco-Egyptian struggle. Henceforth, instead of going forth to attack, the kingdom of Jerusalem was forced to stand upon its defence.

Saladin followed up this success by a raid into Palestine, in which he plundered the town of Gaza, and in the same year took Eyla, at the head of the gulf of Akaba,



Fig. 42.—Glass weight of caliph el-Mustadī, issued by Saladin, 1171

the key of the Red Sea route for pilgrims to Mekka. To carry out this operation he resorted to a device which was repeated by his adversaries afterwards; he built ships in sections at Cairo, and carried the parts overland to the Red Sea, where they were put together. The result of these successes against the "infidels" was

such a measure of popularity in Egypt that Saladin felt himself strong enough to take a decisive step. As a strictly orthodox Muslim, he had chafed under his forced recognition of an heretical caliph, and he had only submitted to the situation because he did not feel sure of popular support. To educate public opinion he had founded

three orthodox colleges in 1170; and now, with the added reputation of the "holy war" successfully waged in Palestine, he caused the name of the 'Abbāsīd caliph to be proclaimed instead of the Fātimid in the mosques on Friday, 30 Sept., 1171. This ecclesiastical revolution passed off without a murmur. The assembled congregation looked merely surprised. The last of the Fātimids happily, never learnt the secret of his deposition. He had been a recluse in his palace since the arrival of Saladin, and when his name was suppressed he lay dying. The news was mercifully withheld from him; and the last of the famous dynasty, which had been given such great opportunities and had misused them so contemptibly, died three days later, ignorant of his fall.¹ His family and kindred were maintained in gilded captivity, and his 18,000 slaves and servants distributed. Of all the treasures that he found in the palaces, Saladin kept nothing for himself. He gave some to his followers, some he presented to his sovereign Nār-ed-dīn, the library of 120,000 manuscripts he gave to his learned chancellor, the Kādī el-Fāḍl; the rest was sold for the public purse. Nor did it suit his simple and austere mode of life to take up his residence in the stately halls of the late caliph. He remained in the "House of the West," and gave up the palaces to the officers of the army. No longer a royal residence, the beautiful mansions of the Fātimids fell into decay, and not a vestige of them has been preserved. "O censurer of my love for the sons of Fāṭma," cried Omāra the poet,

¹ The caliph el-'Āḍid left eleven sons, four sisters, four wives, and other relations to the number of 153, whom the majordomo Karāḥīsh shut up in different buildings of the palace, separating the sexes, but indulging them with every luxury except posterity. Nevertheless they contrived to rear grandsons of the caliph, and the family was not extinct in 1260. A curious magic cup from Cairo, dated 571 (1175-6) bears the name of "the Imām el Mo'taz m-bi l-Āh Abū-l-'Abbās Zāhir the moon being in Cancer," and this may refer to one of the sons of el-'Āḍid, whose claim was perhaps supported by the pro-Fātimid party, who continued for some years to conspire in the hope of restoring the fallen dynasty or of profiting by its nominal restoration. See Cassanova, *Les derniers Fatimides*, in *Mém. de la Miss. Arch.*, vi. 415-445.

"join in my tears over the desolate halls of the twin palaces!"

Saladin's career, from his accession to power, falls into three distinct periods, which may be called the Egyptian, Syrian, and Palestinian in regard to the chief scene of action, or the Defensive, Consolidating, and Aggressive, in reference to policy. From the day he became ruler of Egypt he had vowed himself solemnly to the Holy War, the war of extermination against the Franks. Henceforward his whole policy was directed to that one great end. During the first or Egyptian period (1169—1174) he was on the defensive, not only against the Crusaders, but against the friends of the Fatimids, and even against his liege lord the king of Syria. The policy of this period was to resist internal and foreign attack, avoid a collision with Nur-ed-din, and strengthen himself in Cairo by every possible means, political and military. The second or Syrian period (1174—1184), beginning with the death of Nur-ed-din, saw Saladin, as now the leading Muslim ruler of the near East, extending his sway over Syria and Mesopotamia, and consolidating all the available forces of Islam for the final struggle with the "infidels." The third or Palestinian period (1186—1193) was wholly devoted to the Holy War against the Crusaders, and ended with the peace of Ramla, followed in a few months by the death of the champion of Islam. Through all three periods the one aim was steadily kept in view, and every act of policy, every campaign, was strictly directed to the main object—the creation of a united Saracen empire, strong enough to drive the Franks to the seaboard, if not into the sea. Whatever personal ambition may have mingled unconsciously with it, aggrandizement in Saladin's case meant primarily, if not solely, the triumph of Islam over the "infidels."

The first or Egyptian period had begun well. The Crusaders had not ventured to renew the attack by land, and the invasion by sea had been a fiasco. The mutiny of the black troops of Cairo—the greatest of all internal dangers—had ended in their expulsion to Upper Egypt. The Fatimid caliphate had been abolished

with scarcely a sign of popular disapproval. The next step was to fortify himself alike against internal revolt and external invasion. The Fatimids had contented themselves with a fortified palace on the plain. Saladin, with a soldier's eye, had perceived the weakness of the position, and had already chosen a better site for his purpose. So far each successive dynasty in Egypt had enlarged the capital by extending it in the form of suburbs or vast palaces towards the north-east. Instead of carrying on this plan, Saladin "sought to unite the sites of all the four capitals, and to build a Citadel—the famous 'Castle of the Mountain'—on the westernmost spur of Mount Mukattam, to be the centre of government and to form a military stronghold capable of overawing the whole city and resisting assaults from outside. His plan was to connect this fortress by a bastioned wall with the old fortifications of the Fatimid 'city,' and to extend it so as to enclose the site of Fustāt and Kaṭāf, and thus to sweep round to the river; but the plan was not completed, and even the Citadel was not finished till long after his death. Saladin's enlargement of the area of the city was accompanied by the demolition of whole suburbs between the old 'city' and the shrine of Neṣṣa. These were replaced by pleasure-gardens, and it is recorded that the tall Zawila gate could be seen from the door of Ibn-Tūlūn's mosque. Jehan Thénaut, who accompanied an embassy from Louis XII to Cairo at a later period, found these gardens still a striking feature of the city: 'moult somptueulx et grans jardins plains de tous fructiers: comme cytrons, lymons, citrulles, oranges, aubercotz, cassiers et pommes de musez ou d'Adam pour ce que l'on dict estre le fruct duquel Adam oul trepassa le commandement de Dieu. Lesquelz jardins tous les soirs et matins sont arrouez de l'eau du Nil que tirent beufz et chevaulx.'" Traces of some of these pleasure-grounds may even now be seen from the battlements of the Citadel.

¹ *Le voyage et itineraire de nostre mer saint par Frere Jehan Thénaut*, cited in Schöder's *Nawiri Khawam*, 133.

"It has been supposed that Saladin designed the Citadel of Cairo to protect himself against a possible insurrection of the partisans of the late dynasty. A sufficient explanation, however, is found in his early associations: every Syrian city had its citadel or fortress, and experience had shown many a time that the town might be taken whilst the citadel remained impregnable, a refuge for the people and a means of recuperation. Therefore Cairo must have a citadel too. It might soon be needed as a tower of defence against his over-lord Nūr-ed-dīn himself. Saladin had propitiated the king of Syria with presents from the treasures of the Fātimid palace; prayers were offered for him as sovereign lord every Friday in the mosques, above all in the great mosque of Ḥakīm, which temporarily supplanted the

Azhar as the chief mosque of the city; and his name appeared on the coins struck by Saladin at Cairo. But in spite of this nominal subjection and the absence of all symbols of personal sovereignty, Saladin was virtually his own master; and

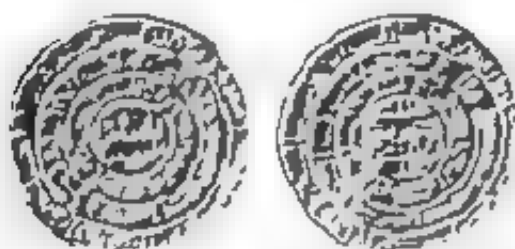


Fig. 43.—Dirhām of Nūr-ed-dīn, issued by Saladin, Cairo, 1173.

supported as he was by a strong army commanded by his brothers and nephews, he was in fact king of Egypt. Nūr-ed-dīn was well aware of this, but his difficulties with the Franks, with the Selgūk Sultan of Rum, and with various contentious rulers in Mesopotamia, left him no leisure to clip the wings of his vassal in Egypt. He could not even count upon his co-operation in the Holy War; for Saladin was convinced that if once his suzerain had the chance of seizing his person, there would be an end of his power; and nothing could induce him to venture within Nūr-ed-dīn's reach. Not only this, but he seems to have carried this dread so far that he preferred to have

the Franks on his borders as an obstacle to Nūr-ed-dīn's advance."¹

This dread in some measure accounts for his desultory and half-hearted attacks upon Montréal and Karak, near the Dead Sea, in 1171 and 1173, and it is conjectured with much probability that his southern campaigns of 1173-4 were undertaken with a view to providing a place of retreat in case Nūr-ed-dīn carried out his threat of invading Egypt. A division of Saladin's army had already conquered the African littoral from Barka to Gabes in 1172-3; but this strip of coast offered no strategic position for defence. The expedition to the Sūdān was prompted by the necessity for castigating the retreating but still rebellious blacks, but another probable object was to examine the resources of the country as a possible refuge. Saladin's elder brother, Tūmānshāh, after pursuing the blacks into Nubia, took the city of Ibrim (the Roman Primis) near Korusko, pillaged the church of the monophysite Christians, tortured the bishop, and satisfied his Muslim prejudice by slaughtering 700 of the pigs that there abounded.² But his report on the climate and products of the Sūdān was discouraging, and Saladin sent him to Arabia to seek a better country. Tūmānshāh reduced the whole of the Yemen (Arabia Felix), with its cities of San'a, 'Aden, Zebid, and G'ened, and established his government at Ta'izz, whence the Yemen was ruled by members of Saladin's family for fifty-five years.

The absence of a gallant general and a considerable army in the Yemen furnished an opportunity to the partisans of the Fāṭmids who still hoped to eject the young "mamūk," as they called Saladin, from his seat, and to re-establish the old order which promised better profits to the hangers-on of a luxurious court. The plot was generally ascribed to the Arab poet 'Omāra, but whoever was the original instigator, it found wide support. Egyptian and Sūdānī officers, abetted even by some of Saladin's jealous Turkmāns, joined in the con-

¹ Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 218-120.

² Abū-Şālih, f. 96.

spiracy; the kings of Sicily and Jerusalem were induced to co-operate by promises of gold and territory; the master of the Assassins was invited to send some of his secret murderers; and preparations were made for a combined attack by sea and land, in which Saladin was to be enmeshed. Fortunately the intended victim got wind of the secret, seized the leading conspirators, including the poet-politician, and crucified them all.

At The inferior ranks of the plotters were exiled to Upper Egypt

The sea attack, which was to have supported the Cairo conspiracy, did not take place till the late summer. The Franks of Palestine did not move when they heard that the plot had failed; but the king of Sicily, less well-informed, despatched a large fleet, estimated at 282 vessels which arrived off Alexandria on 25 July. The sea city garrison were completely taken by surprise, but they tried to resist the landing, which was nevertheless effected near the pharos. The catapults and mangonels which the Normans had brought were soon playing upon the curtain of the city walls, and the defenders were obliged to fight desperately all the first day till night fell, to resist the storming parties. The next day the Christians advanced their machines close up to the walls, but reinforcements had joined the garrison from the neighbouring villages, and again the attack was beaten off. On the third day, there was a vigorous sortie: the machines were burnt, the enemy lost severely and the garrison returned flushed with triumph. Scarcely were they within the gates, when an express arrived from Saladin, to whom they had sent for support. The courier had ridden from Cairo that same day with relays of horses, and, reaching Alexandria between three and four in the afternoon, loudly proclaimed the approach of Saladin's army. The tidings put fresh heart into the defenders, and they rushed out again in the gathering darkness, fell upon the camp of the Normans, and drove them, some to the ships, some into the sea. The news that Saladin was on the march finished the fiasco: the Normans slipped their moorings and fled, as swiftly and

suddenly as they had come. The three days' wonder vanished on the horizon, and Alexandria breathed again."¹

The conspiracy had been suppressed at Cairo in April; the Norman invasion was repelled in July; in the same month Amalric, the king of Jerusalem, died, and was succeeded by Baldwin, a child and a leper; but meanwhile a still greater obstacle to Saladin's career had been removed in May by the death of Nūr-ed-dīn, the noble sultan of Syria. By this far-reaching event, Saladin became at one bound the leading Muslim sovereign of the near East. His only possible rivals were Nūr-ed-dīn's son, a mere child, in Syria; Nūr-ed-dīn's nephew, Seyf-ed-dīn, the prince of Mōsil and head of the family of Zengi; and the Seljūq sultan of Rūm or Asia Minor, and none of these was his equal in military power or capacity. To oppose the Crusaders successfully there must be one king and one consolidated Muslim empire, and these several principalities must be brought into line in a general advance. Thus began the second—the Syrian or Consolidating period of his career.

Saladin dealt with them separately. Syria was, of course, his first object. Its child-king was in the hands of a clique, and the scheming emirs were making terms with the Franks. An appeal from Damascus supplied the necessary justification for the first step. With only 700 picked horsemen, Saladin rode across the desert to the Syrian capital and took possession in the name of the child-king. Passing through Emesa and Hama, he reached Aleppo, where Nūr-ed-dīn's heir, or rather his heir, prudently shut the gate in his face. Saladin's protestations of loyalty to his old master's son were not believed, and an attempt was made to assassinate him by means of the emissaries of the "Old Man of the Mountain," whilst the Franks, under Count Raymond of Tripolis, made a diversion in favour of their Muslim ally. The siege of Aleppo was therefore raised, and Saladin was checked. He had to be content for the

¹ Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 127-8.

present with the possession of all Syria south of Aleppo.

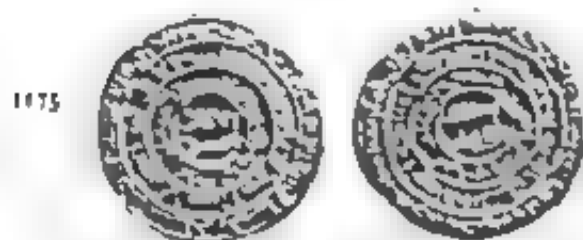


Fig. 42.—Dinar of Saladin, Cairo, 1173.

Nor was he allowed to hold this without interference. The Atābeg of Mōsil despatched an army from Mesopotamia to combine with his cousin of Aleppo, and the joint forces marched upon Hamāh. In face of this formidable attack, Saladin essayed to make terms, but all overtures being rejected he won a brilliant victory at the Horns of Hamāh, and pursued the enemy up to the gates of Aleppo.¹ A second victory in the following year at the Turkman's Wells, over Seif-ed-din himself, ended in the total rout of the Mesopotamians, and a treaty of alliance with the young king of Aleppo, by which Saladin was recognized as sovereign over all the countries he had conquered, from Egypt almost to the Euphrates.

An interval of six years passed (1177-82) before this first step was followed by the annexation of Mesopotamia. Peace reigned between Saladin and the house of Zengi, and there was also a nominal truce with the Crusaders, negotiated by Humphrey of Toron, whose friendship had even gone the length of admitting Saladin to the rank of

¹ Technically, Saladin's independent sovereignty dates from this victory, for it was only after this success that he issued coins in his own name. As wazir of Egypt he had successively placed on the coinage the names of the Fātimid caliph el-'Adid (A.H. 565, 566, 1169-71 A.D.), and of Nūr-ed-din (A.H. 567, 569, 1171-4 A.D.), but never his own name. When he occupied Damascus, he placed the name of Nūr-ed-din's son es-Sālih on the copper coins, adding his own as well. In 570 (A.D. 1174-5, but undoubtedly in the latter year) for the first time gold coins of Cairo and Alexandria appeared with the titles of "the king strong to aid Joseph son of Ayyub" 'el-Melik en-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Ayyub. The title el-Melik en-Nāṣir was bestowed upon him by the Fātimid caliph on his appointment as wazir. There is a nearly complete series of Saladin's Cairo dinars from 570 to 589 (1175-93), and a less continuous series of Alexandria from 570 to 585. His Damascus and Aleppo coinages were in silver and copper, and he also used the mint Hamāh.

knighthood.¹ The organisation of his wide dominions, and the fortification of Cairo, occupied much of his time. The new stone walls were laid out, and the building of the Citadel was begun, though it was not finished till the reign of his nephew Kamil thirty years later. The enceinte may still be recognized through a considerable extent of walls, but the citadel has so often been restored and remodelled by the Mamlūk sultans and by Mohammad 'Alī Pasha, that it is difficult to identify much of the original work;—the founder's inscription, however, may still be read over the old "Gate of the Steps," a dark portal in the west face of the original enceinte. It records how "the building of this splendid Citadel,—

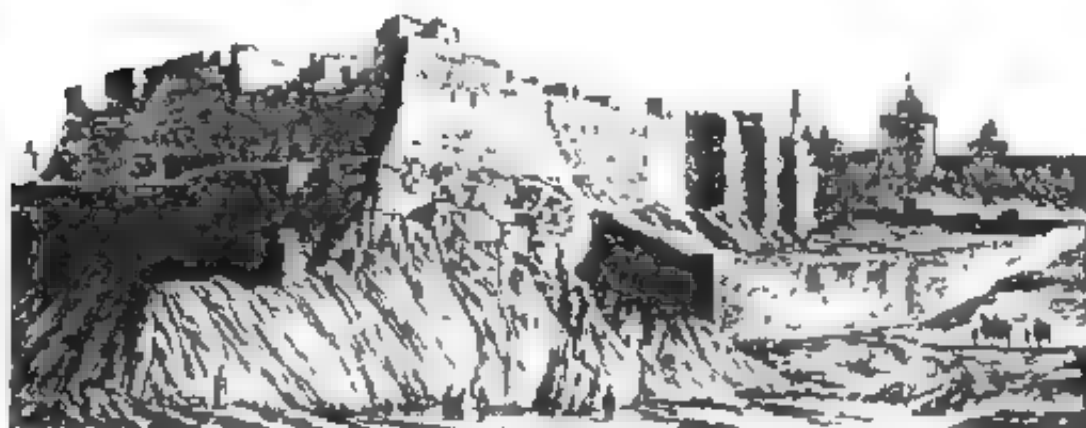


Fig. 45.—Citadel of Cairo (drawn in 1798)

hard by Cairo the Guarded, on the terrace which joins use to beauty, and space to strength, for those who seek the shelter of his power,—was ordered by our master the

¹ *Itin. Reg. Ric.*, i. 3; cp. v. 12, and William of Tyre, xvii. 27, and *l'Ordre de Chevalerie*.

² See, however, the elaborate historical description of M. P. Casanova in *Mém. de la Miss. Arch.* vi., and M. van Berchem's *Notes d'Archéologie Arabe, Journ. Asiat.* 1891, where it is remarked that Saladin's citadel and enceinte belong to the French type of defences, introduced by the Crusaders, in contradistinction from the earlier Byzantine type employed by Bedr el-Gemāl in the second wall and the three existing gates.

King Strong-to-a d, Honour of the World and the Faith, Conquest-aden, Yūsuf, son of Ayyūb, Restorer of the Empire of the Caliph ; with the direction of his brother and heir the Just King (el 'Adil) Saif ed-din Abū-Bekr Mohammad, friend of the Commander of the Faithful ; and under the management of the Emir of his Kingdom and Support of his Empire Karikūsh son of 'Abdallah, the slave of el-Melik es-Nāṣir, in the year 579 (1183-4)."

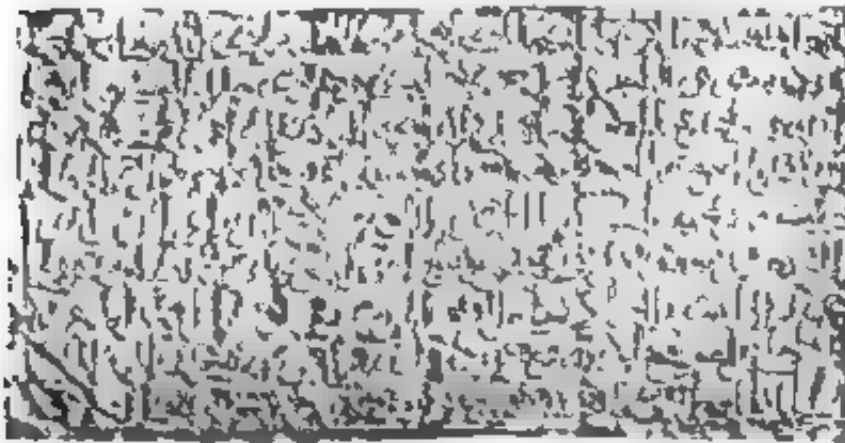


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arches along the border of the desert, as an outwork against a possible invasion from the west.¹

But perhaps none of his innovations had more permanent influence than the *medresa* or collegiate mosque. Hitherto there had been no theological colleges at Cairo. Beyond the ordinary elementary schools, almost the only lectures that could be attended were given in the old mosque of 'Amr. The Fatimid "Hall of Science" was an exception, but it was largely devoted to initiation into the several degrees of Shī'a mysticism and the discussion of speculative philosophy. The college—or mosque where regular teaching was given, generally quite gratuitously, to all who came—was an innovation from Persia, introduced into Syria by Nūr-ed-dīn, and imported into Egypt by Saladin, who was eager to impart the Shārite form of orthodoxy to the misguided Egyptians. He founded colleges for this purpose at Alexandria and Cairo, the earliest being built close to the tomb of the Imam Shāh'ī himself in the southern Kerāfa or cemetery. Others were the Nāsirīya for Sherīfīya and Kāmīya colleges near the mosque of 'Amr at Fustāt, and the Medresa of the Swordmakers, installed in the old palace of Māmūn in Cairo itself. None of these has been preserved, but it is only after Saladin's time that we find the familiar cruciform medresa or collegiate mosque with its four deep porticos where the doctors of the four orthodox sects (Hanafī, Shāh'ī, Malakī, and Hanbalī) taught their circles of students.

In the administration of his kingdom Saladin had the valuable assistance of a faithful and learned servant. The Kāhī el-Fāhī, an Arab of Ascalon, had been in the secretariate of the Fātimid caliph since the time of al-'Adīl the wazīr, and on Saladin's accession to power became his chancellor or wazīr, and exercised great influence in that high office during the whole of the reign of Saladin and his son and grandson, until his own death in Jan., 1200. He was famous for his ornate style and the elegant finish of his despatches. Saladin trusted

¹ Maqr., *Kh.ṭaṭ*, II. 204, 151; Ibn G'abeyr, 49.

him implicitly. He was as devout and orthodox as his master, and also founded a theological college in Cairo. It was perhaps due to his rigid tenets that the Christians, who had been indulged under the later ignoble Fātimids, were subjected, if not to persecution, certainly to confiscations under the enlightened rule of Saladin.¹

The six years' interval, however, was not wholly spent in works of peace.



Fig. 47. — Gate of Steps in Citadel of Cairo, 1183.

There were several brushes with the Franks, who had already forgotten their truce, and forayed the country about Damascus. Saladin retorted by invading their peculiar province, the Holy Land. At Tell G'ezer, near Ramla, he was surprised and utterly routed by king Baldwin backed by 375 knights, and had to ride for his life. It was his first, indeed his only, serious defeat. In three months, however,

1177
Nov.
25

he was able to take the field again at Hims with a fresh army, and in 1179 he won a brilliant victory over the king of Jerusalem at Marj Oyün (Mergion), and took seventy knights prisoners, including the masters of the Temple and Hospital, Raymond of Tripolis, Balian and Baldwin of Ibelin, and Hugh of Tiberias. The victory was followed by the destruction of the castle at Jacob's Ford which the king had erected as a menace to the Saracens.

1179
June

Aug.

¹ Abū-Şālih, 25a, 67b, etc

Meanwhile the Egyptian fleet of seventy vessels harried the coast of Palestine and brought back a thousand Christian prisoners, who were usefully employed in building the Citadel of Cairo. The winter was spent in equipping a larger navy, and when Saladin opened the campaign in the spring with a combined advance by sea and land, king Baldwin prudently proposed a truce, which was forthwith concluded for two years and confirmed by solemn oaths. Turning north to Cilicia, Saladin entered into negotiations with the Seljuk sultan of Konya, the king of Lesser Armenia, and the princes of Mōsil, G'ezira, Irbil, Key ā, and Mārdin, who all set their seals to a solemn pact, whereby they bound themselves on oath to keep peace and amity with one another for the space of two years. For this time war was to be unknown within their borders, and a holy truce, a *Mighty Pax Saracenicæ*, was to reign throughout the near East.

The great truce showed that Saladin's influence now overawed all smaller powers from the Black Sea and the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and the temporary union of all the neighbouring Muslim states was a long step towards that united effort which he intended to make against the crusading powers. It was the beginning of the policy which used the warlike tribesmen of Mesopotamia as recruits for the Holy War. The death of Nur-ed-din's son, the king of Aleppo, and the perfidious negotiations between the Mesopotamian princes and the Franks, opened the way; and when Saladin left Cairo, as it proved for ever, on 11 May 1182, it was to carry out his great schemes as the champion of Islam. After some engagements with the Franks, and an unsuccessful siege of Beyrūt, he marched into Mesopotamia and subdued the whole country, excepting the city of Mōsil. Aleppo was purchased by exchange, and, after two unsuccessful but exhausting sieges, Mōsil at last consented to become Saladin's vassal. By this treaty the whole of Northern Mesopotamia and part of Kārdistān were permanently joined to his empire.

The object of his long and arduous campaigns on the

Tigris and Euphrates had been attained. He had now allies instead of enemies on his northern flank. Before this no invasion of the Christian territory could safely be undertaken without posting an army of observation to guard against attack from the north; but now he could advance with confidence. He had also more troops at his back, and could not only command the full strength of his Syrian and Egyptian levies, but also count upon large contingents from the Mesopotamian provinces. In the Holy War, upon which he was now to embark

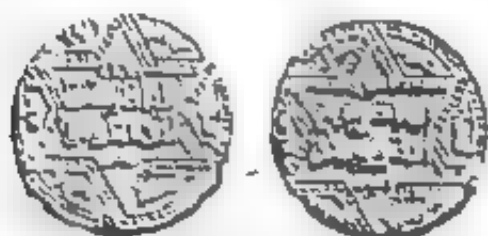


Fig. 48.—Dirhem (silver coin) of Saladin, Aleppo, 1186.

in deadly earnest, all the great barons of those parts came to reinforce the Muslim army, and the princes of Zengi's line, the lords of Mōsil, Singār, Gezira, Irbil, Harrān, and even the Kurds from beyond the Tigris,

swelled the general muster with their vassals and retainers.

Thus prepared and strengthened, Saladin entered upon the third period of his career—the Palestinian or Aggressive. There had been provocations and reprisals for several years. Reginald of Châtillon, lord of Karak, had entered the Red Sea, seized pilgrim ships, and even invaded Arabia with the intention of destroying the tomb of the Prophet at Medina and the Ka'ba at Mekka. He was pursued by the Egyptian fleet, and his expedition was cut to pieces. In Palestine there had been an indecisive battle near La Feve (el-Fūla), and twice had Saladin laid unsuccessful siege to Reginald's impregnable fortress of Karak. A treaty of peace for four years was then arranged by Raymond of Tripolis, (the regent of the infant king Baldwin V), who was personally on terms of friendship if not actual alliance with Saladin; but the peace was a hollow form whilst all Europe was beating to arms, and English knights from the Cheviots to the Pyrenees were taking the Cross, and

1181
Apr

Oct.
Nov.
1184
Aug.

the two great military orders were burning as ardently as Saladin himself to strike a blow for the faith. The smallest spark would kindle the conflagration. The spark came from Reginald of Chatillon, who for the third time, in spite of the treaty, pounced upon a peaceful caravan of merchants who were courting past his stronghold. It was not of a rich prize, but was rumoured to include one of Saladin's sisters. The provocation was ample. Saladin vowed to kill the truce-breaker with his own hand, and kept his word.

The history of the Holy War of 1187 to 1192 is familiar to students, and forms no part of the history of Egypt. The order of events is all that need be mentioned.

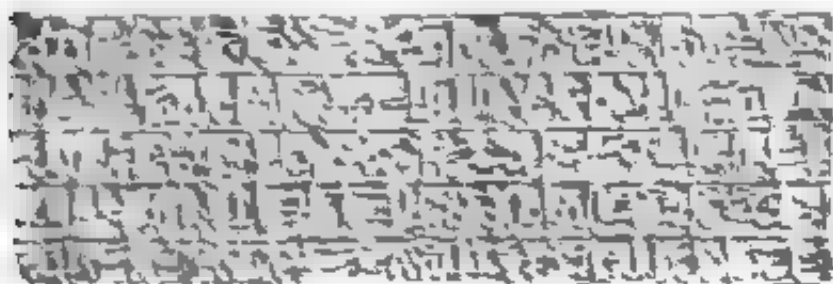


Fig. 40.—Saladin's inscription at church of St. Anne, Jerusalem, 1192.

The crushing defeat of the Crusaders under their new king, Guy of Lusignan, at Hattin, near Tiberias, was followed by the rapid conquest of Palestine. Saladin's army spread over the Holy Land, and the whole kingdom of Jerusalem, with the exception of a few castles and fortified cities, was subdued in a month. Ascalon fell in September, and on 2 October Jerusalem itself capitulated on honourable terms. Tyre alone escaped capture in the first rush of conquest, almost by a miracle, and its second successful resistance (Nov., Dec.) was the turning point in Saladin's victorious career. The county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch, all the coast cities north of Tyre, were easily occupied in a single brilliant campaign, May—Sept., 1188, and Antioch itself was obliged to agree to a humiliating truce. The great

inland fastnesses of Belvoir, Safed, and Karak, that still held out, were taken in December and January. Nothing remained of all the conquests of the Crusaders but Tyre and Belfort.

Tyre, however, was the rallying point of the Franks. Thither the garrisons let free by Saladin, with more magnanimity than prudence, as each city or fortress capitulated, immediately betook themselves. Thither came king Guy and most of the nobles and knights who had been released on their solemn pledge never again to bear arms against the sultan. From Tyre marched the army which began the memorable siege of 'Akka,¹ and welcomed the powerful reinforcements of the third Crusade. Tyre was the fatal wooden horse of Saladin's Troy. Had he overcome the impatience or revived the exhaustion of his troops, and sacrificed every other interest to the one object of taking Tyre, there might have been no siege of 'Akka and no third Crusade. Without that word even Richard of England would have found it hard to bring his Danish battle axe to bear upon the Saracens.

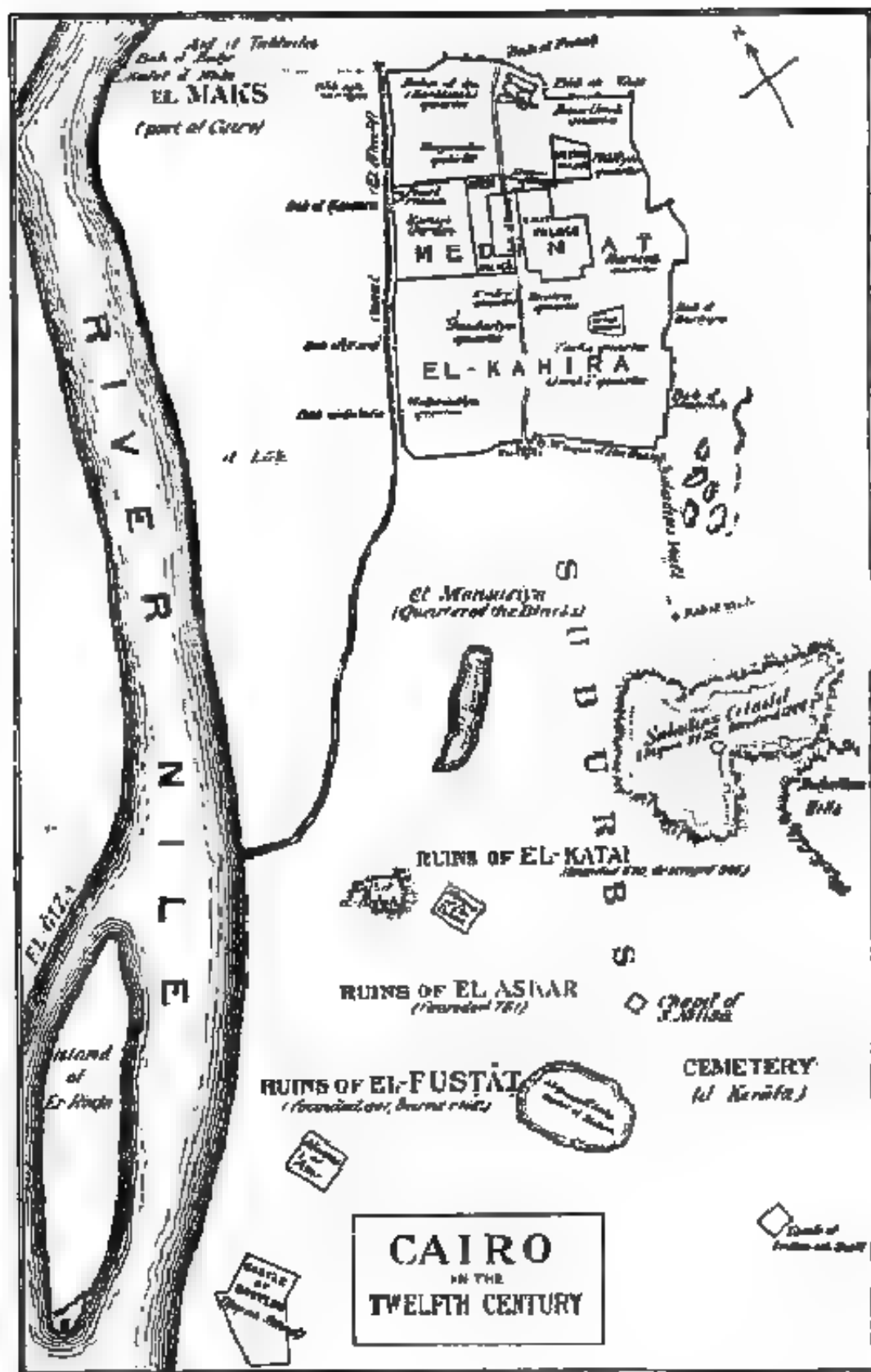
The siege of 'Akka by Guy of Lusignan began on ¹¹⁶⁷ 28 August 1189; the siege of the besiegers by Saladin began two days later. The first great battle between the Franks and the double enemy—the garrison within and the relieving army encircling the Christians—was fought on 3 October, and ended in the repulse of the Crusaders with heavy loss. Saladin neglected to follow up his victory, and the Franks spent the winter in entrenching and strengthening their position before 'Akka. In the spring the reports of the approach of the ¹¹⁹⁰ German crusade under Frederick Barbarossa drew off a large part of the Saracen forces. A second great attack on the Muslims on 25 July, however, was severely punished, but the success was not followed up, and the chances of annihilating the besieging army were sensibly diminished by the landing of Henry of Champagne with 10,000 fresh men. The siege and countersiege went on, with constantly lessening hopes for the Saracens. The

¹ The Arabic 'Akka represents the ancient Acha. The modern French spelling, Acre, should be abandoned in English.

- Duke of Swabia brought the survivors of the German army into 'Akka in October, and the first English fleet arrived in the same month. Still Saladin more than held his own. An attempt of the Christians to bring in provisions from Haifa was checked by a strenuous engagement at the Spring-Head, and then winter turned the plain into a sea of mud, and both sides waited for the spring, while famine and fever decimated the Christian camp. Meanwhile Saladin had revictualled 'Akka, and relieved the exhausted garrison.
- 1101 The leaders of the third Crusade at last arrived: Philip of France at Easter, Richard of England on 8 June. With such reinforcements the long siege soon came to an end. On 12 July 'Akka surrendered. Saladin was no party to this act of the exhausted garrison, but he had been unable to relieve it, and was forced to accept the situation. Negotiations for peace had been opened before the capitulation, and were concluded after it, but some delay in carrying out the stipulations with regard to the surrender of Christian prisoners so exasperated Richard that he massacred 2700 Muslim prisoners in cold blood in sight of the two camps. There was no more talk of peace, and the king of England (Philip had already set off on his return to France) marched down the coast with the intention of taking Ascalon and then striking inland for Jerusalem. Saladin hung upon the Crusaders during the whole march, but after a defeat at Arsûf he was obliged to draw off his forces to Ramla, and, on the approach of winter, to Jerusalem. Two attempts to march on the Holy City brought Richard actually in sight of his goal, but dissensions in the mixed council of the Crusaders and the increased strength of the Saracens frustrated the design. Richard retired disappointed to 'Akka, and Saladin seized the opportunity to make a dash upon Jaffa, which was immediately relieved and defended by the king of England and a handful of knights—the most brilliant feat of the whole war, of which both sides were now weary. Ever since the battle of Arsûf negotiations for peace had been carried on in a desultory manner;

but now that Richard was ill and the state of England urgently called for his presence, they were pressed to a conclusion, and a treaty was signed for three years, by ^{Sept.} which the Crusaders retained the coast cities from 'Akka to Jaffa, and pilgrims were permitted to visit the holy places at Jerusalem.

The Holy War had lasted five years. Before the decisive victory at Hittin in July, 1187, not an inch of Palestine west of the Jordan was in Muslim hands. After the peace of Ramla in September, 1192, the whole land was Muslim territory except a narrow strip of coast from Tyre to Jaffa. To recover this strip the whole of Europe had risen in arms, and hundreds of thousands of Crusaders had fallen. The result hardly justified the cost. Saladin, on the other hand, came out of the war with power unshaken. He had been loyally supported by the whole strength of his empire and his vassals, from Egypt to the Tigris. Kurds, Lurkmans, Syrians, Arabs, and Egyptians mingled in his armies, and all were Muslims and his servants when he called upon them for an effort. Not a province had fallen away, only one youthful vassal rebelled for an instant, though the trials and sufferings of the long campaigns had severely taxed the soldiers' endurance and faith in their leader. After the war was over he still reigned unchallenged from the mountains of Kurdistan to the Libyan desert, and far beyond these borders the king of Georgia, the Catholicos of Armenia, the Sultan of Konya, even the emperor of Constantinople, were eager for his alliance. He lived to see the triumph of his life's ambition; he had driven the Christians out of the Holy City and restored the unity of Islam. The exhaustion of the long campaigns, however, had enfeebled his never robust health, and a fever carried him off at Damascus, six ¹¹⁹³ months after the peace. ^{Mar. 4} The popular conception of his character has not erred. Magnanimous, chivalrous, gentle, sympathetic, pure in heart and life, ascetic and laborious, simple in his habits, fervently devout, and only severe in his zeal for the faith, he has been rightly held to be the type and pattern of Saracen chivalry.



King Strong-to-aid, Honour of the World and the Faith, Conquest-aden, Yusuf, son of Ayyûb, Restorer of the Empire of the Caliph : with the direction of his brother and heir the Just King (el-'Âdil) Seyf ed-dîn Abû-Bekr Mohammad, friend of the Commander of the Faithful ; and under the management of the Emir of his Kingdom and Support of his Empire Karakûsh son of 'Abdallâh, the slave of el-Melik en-Nâsir, in the year 579 (1183-4)."

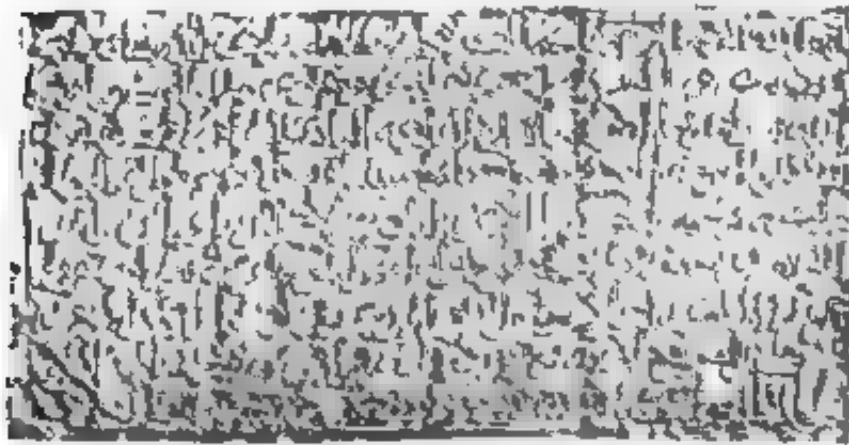


Fig. 46.—Saladin's inscription on the Gate of Steps in the Citadel of Cairo, 1183.

The famous "Well of the Winding Stairs," 280 feet deep, was excavated in the solid rock by the eunuch Karakûsh under Saladin's orders ; but the other buildings (now demolished) associated with his name belonged to later times. The people of Egypt were proud to name public works after their great sultan, and thus his memory is preserved in the Cairo aqueduct (a Mamlûk work), and even in the chief canal of Upper Egypt, which is still known as the "River of Joseph," Bahr Yûsuf, though it dates from the time of the Pharaohs. Saladin's chief public work outside Cairo was the great dike of G'iza, built (1183-4) like the Citadel with stones taken from the smaller pyramids, and carried on forty

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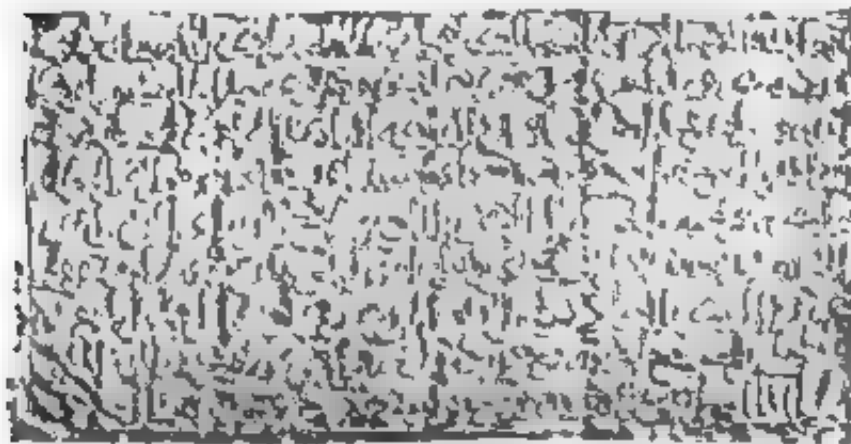


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CHAPTER VIII

SALADIN'S SUCCESSORS

(THE AYYŪBIDS)

1193—1250

Authorities.—Ibn-el-Athir, Abū-Shāma, 'Abū-el-Latif, Ibn-Khalikān, Joinville, Abū-l-Fidā, el-Makrizi, el-'Ayni;—modern Kugler, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II.* Rohmert, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, and various arts. of *Regesta regum Hierosol.*

Monuments.—Tomb of Imām Shāfi'i, 1211; completion of the citadel of Cairo; medresa of el-Kāmi (almost disappeared), 1224; tombs of emir Ismā'il, 1216, and Shейkh el Fārisi, 1225; minaret of (old) Hasaneyn, 1235-6; medresa of ey-Salib Ayyūb, 1243.

Inscriptions.—On monuments enumerated above; 'Ādil on fortress at Mt. Tabor, 1211.

Casket of el-'Ādil II in V. & A. Mus., Coins.—See under each reign.

SINCE 1182, when Saladin left Cairo for the last time, Egypt had played a subsidiary part in the empire of which it was the head. The centre of politics was removed to Syria, and Egypt had to be content to act as a recruiting-ground for the levies which its sultan was constantly demanding for the reinforcement of his exhausted armies. The practice throughout these wars was to fight in the summer; and when the winter rains stopped military movements in Syria and Palestine the various contingents were sent to their homes to recover health and attend to their farms. In Egypt this practice saved much hardship, for the winter was the season for the principal agricultural operations. During the sultan's absence, his brother el-'Ādil Seyf-ed-dīn, the "Saphadin" of the Crusaders, administered Egypt with the assistance of the Kādi el-Fāḍil. In 1184, indeed, he was trans-

2

THE AYYUBID DYNASTIES

The subjoined tables (taken from *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, by the present writer) show the succession of the various members of the Ayyūbid family in the seven chief divisions of the empire. They all descended from five sons of Ayyūb—Saladin, 'Ādil, Shāhānshāh, Tūrānshāh, and Taghiegīn,—except the Emesa branch which descended from Shirkūh, Ayyūb's brother. An upright stroke between successive names indicates sonship.

A.—EGYPT.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| El-Nāṣir Ṣalāḩ-ed-dīn Yūsuf (<i>Saladin</i>) | A.D. 1169 |
| El-'Azīz 'Othmān (son) | 1193 |
| El-Manṣūr Moḥammad | 1198 |
| El-'Ādil Seyf-ed-dīn * (<i>Saphadin</i>) | 1200 |
| El-Kāmil Moḥammad * | 1218 |
| El-'Ādil II * | 1238 |
| El-Ṣāliḩ Ayyūb * (brother) | 1240 |
| El-Mu'izzam Tūrānshāh * | 1249 |
| El-Ashraf Muṣā | 1250 |

—1252

* These Sultāns also ruled at Damascus.

D.—MESOPOTAMIA

| | |
|--|---------------|
| El-Aḩmad Ayyūb (son of 'Ādil) | A.D. 1200? |
| El-Ashraf Muṣā (son of 'Ādil, <i>in Damascus</i>) | 1210 |
| El-Muḩaffar Ḩabāṣī (son of 'Ādil) | 1230 |
| | - 1245 |

E.—HAMA.

| | |
|--|------|
| El-Muḩaffar I Taḩi-ed-dīn Umar (son of Ṣalāḩnshāh) | 1178 |
| El-Manṣūr I Moḩammad | 1191 |
| El-Nāṣir Ḩilāl Arslān | 1220 |
| El-Muḩaffar II Maḩmūd (brother) | 1229 |
| El-Manṣūr II Moḩammad | 1244 |
| El-Muḩaffar III Maḩmūd | 1284 |

—1298

* * * * *

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--------|
| EL-ḤAḤMAD ʿAMĪ (son of Saladin) | . | . | 1186 |
| EL-ʿĀḌĪ Seyf-ed-dīn (<i>see Egypt</i>) | . | . | 1196 |
| EL-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā | . | . | 1218 |
| EN-Nāṣir Dāwūd | . | . | 1227 |
| EL-Aḥraf al-Mūsā (<i>of Mesopotamia</i>) | . | . | 1228 |
| EQ-Ṣalīb Ismāʿīl (son of ʿĀḍĪ) | . | . | 1237 |
| EL-Kāmil (<i>of Egypt</i>) | . | . | 1238 |
| EL-ʿĀḌĪ II " | . | . | 1238 |
| EQ-Ṣalīb Ismāʿīl (restored) | . | . | 1239 |
| EQ-Ṣalīb (<i>of Egypt</i>) | . | . | 1245 |
| EL-Muʿaẓẓam (<i>of Egypt</i>) | . | . | 1249 |
| EN-Nāṣir Yūsuf (<i>of Aleppo</i>) | . | . | 1250 |
| | | | 1260 |
| C — ALEPPO. | | | |
| EQ-Zāhir Ghāzī (son of Saladin) | | | 1186 |
| EL-ʿAzīz Moḥammad | . | . | 1216 |
| EN-Nāṣir Yūsuf (<i>see Damascus</i>) | . | . | 1236 |
| | | | — 1260 |
| EL-Muʿaẓẓam Muḥ-I-Fulā (<i>the historian, cousin of the last</i>) | | | 1310 |
| EL-Muḥal Moḥammad | . | . | 1332 |
| | | | — 1341 |
| E. — EYLAṢA (HAMA) | | | |
| EL-Ḥābir Moḥammad (son of Shīrkūh) | | | 1178 |
| EL-Muḥāhid Shīrkūh II | | | 1185 |
| EL-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm | . | . | 1239 |
| EL-Aḥraf Muḥā | . | . | 1245 |
| | | | — 1262 |
| G. — ARABIA. | | | |
| EL-Muʿaẓẓam Tūmāshāh (brother of Saladin) | . | . | 1171 |
| Sayf-el-Islām Tuḡtegīn (brother of Saladin) | | | 1181 |
| Muʿizz-ed-dīn Ismāʿīl II (son of Tuḡtegīn) | | | 1196 |
| EN-Nāṣir Ayyūb (son of Tuḡtegīn) | | | 1201 |
| EL-Muzaḥḥar Sulaymān (grandson of ʿOmar) | | | 1214 |
| EL-Mustafī Saḥāḥ-ed-dīn Yūsuf (son of Kāmil) | | | 1215 |
| | | | — 1228 |

[To face p. 212.

ferred to Aleppo and his nephew Taki-ed-din 'Omar sent to Egypt instead; but 'Omar proved intractable, and 'Adil was restored to Cairo in 1146, with Saladin's second son el-'Aziz as nominal chief. 'Adil was the ablest of his brother's kinsmen, a good general and hard fighter, but also and beyond all a skilful diplomatist and shrewd politician. He loyally supported his brother in his campaigns, led the Egyptian contingent to the annual rendezvous in Palestine, distinguished himself especially in several engagements on the plain of 'Akka, and was indefatigable in beating up recruits, equipping ships, and supplying stores and money for Saladin's campaigns. He was personally on a friendly footing with Richard of England, and it was he, and not Saladin, who was a guest in the English camp. One of his sons was knighted by Count de Lion,¹ and "the noble Saphadin" was the intermediary to whom Richard applied when he negotiated the treaty of Ramla. Everything indicated el 'Adil as the successor of his heroic brother.

Saladin, however, had naturally ordered the succession in favour of his own sons, three of whom, for some years before his death, had held the governments of the three chief provinces. The eldest, el Afdal, had Damascus and central Syria; el-'Aziz, Egypt, and el-Zahir, Aleppo. Their cousins ruled at Hamah, Hims, and Ba'albekk; and an uncle governed the Yemen. Mesopotamia and Diyar-Bekr became the special appanage of Saladin's brother el-'Adil. From the beginning of this division, however, Egypt was clearly regarded as the supreme province. Damascus struck a coin, in the very year of Saladin's death in the name of 'Aziz of Egypt, though Afdal was its own ruler. But whatever homage was paid, there was no unity among the members of the family. 'Aziz besieged his brother in Damascus within the year, and though peace was patched up by the mediation of 'Adil and Zahir, the quarrel broke out again in the

¹ *Ann. Reg. Ric.*, v. 11. A similar honour was accorded by Frederick II to the emir Fakhr-ed-din the general who afterwards commanded at Masyia against Louis IX.

following year, when Aḳḳāl pursued his younger brother into Egypt as far as Būbeys. Again the prudent uncle intervened, aided by the venerable Kādī el-Fāḍil,¹ who had been Saladin's chief adviser; and 'Azīz found himself saddled with 'Adīl as his minister at Cairo, to the detriment of his independent authority. 'Adīl had been a loyal right hand to his brother, but he was not the man to let sentiment stand in the way of his own advance. Saladin's sons were breaking up the empire, and 'Adīl resolved to reunite it under his own personal command.

The key of the situation he knew to be Egypt. He had carefully argued Aḳḳāl out of his design of seizing Cairo, because he wanted it for himself. Aḳḳāl, a pleasure-loving, wine-bibbing profligate, would be a danger to Egypt; whereas 'Azīz had all the virtues and the special merit of being peculiarly biddable. He was 'full of generosity' says one who knew him,² 'most brave and modest, a youth of high morals and no touch of avarice: he knew not how to say no.' This was the proper instrument for 'Adīl to play on. The two agreed to oust Aḳḳāl from Damascus, where his tardy self-reform could not efface the memory of his weaknesses. The city was easily occupied, and delivered over to 'Adīl as viceroy under 'Azīz. Friendly with Egypt and master of central Syria, 'Adīl now went north to settle his Mesopotamian possessions (1198 o), which after Saladin's death had been threatened by his old rival, the Atabeg of Ḥamā. He speedily reduced the country to order, and from that time up to the Mongol invasion the Euphrates country remained in the hands of his sons.

¹¹⁹⁸ ^{Nov.} 'Adīl was recalled from the north by the news of the early death of 'Azīz³ from a fever caught whilst hunting in the Fayyūm, and of the immediate arrival of the

¹ El-Fāḍil died in Jan., 1199, and his colleague the secretary 'Imād-ud-dīn in 1201. See Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 187-9.

² 'Abū-el-Laṭīf, ed. Saey, 469.

³ El-'Azīz struck coins at Cairo A.H. 589-595 (1193-1198 A.D.); at Alexandria, 589-595; Damascus, 589 and 594, and Aleppo, 592 (1196). The last two were issued by 'Adīl and Zāhir, without their own names, in token of vassalage.

family scapegrace, Afdal, at Cairo. Here he posed as guardian to his brother's infant heir, el-Mansûr¹ and took the opportunity to lead the Egyptian troops to the conquest of Damascus, aided by Zâhir of Aleppo, who shared his brother's hatred of their uncle. But 'Adil

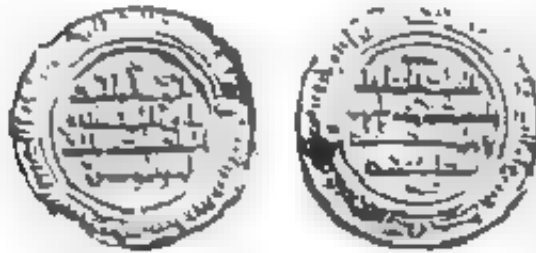


Fig. 50. — Dinârs of el-'Adil, Alexandria, 1199.

was at Damascus before them, the besiegers retired, and Afdal was forced to capitulate and to deliver up Egypt. 'Adil was now master of the whole of Saladin's empire,² with the exception of Arabia and of northern

Syria, where the three dynasties of Aleppo, Hims, and Hamib, whilst recognizing his supremacy and rendering military service, maintained their own virtual independence. The child Mansûr was soon deposed, and 'Adil appointed his own sons as viceroys (*nâib*) over the various provinces under his control. el-Kâmil represented him in Egypt, el-Mu'azzam at Damascus, el-Awhad, el-Fâiz, el-Ashraf, and el-Hâfiz in the several districts of the Tigris and Euphrates country.

Egypt was still the head of the empire, but it was passing through a period of distress. An exceptionally low Nile produced a failure of the crops in 1201, repeated in 1202, and famine and pestilence ensued. The Baghdad physician, 'Abd-el-Latif, who lived at Cairo for ten years (1194—1204), attending the professors' lectures at the Azhar mosque, records the terrible experiences of the famine. The distress was so desperate

¹ El-Mansûr's coinage is dated A.H. 595, 596 (1198-9) at Cairo and Alexandria.

² El-'Adil struck coins at Cairo A.H. 597—615 (1200—1218); Alexandria, 596—614; Damascus, 599—615; Mayyâfârikîn, 591 (1195); Harrân 591, Ecema 601, 604 (1204-8). His name was also inscribed as suzerain on the coinage of ez-Zâhir of Aleppo, 599; el-'Azîz of Aleppo, 614; and el-Ashraf of Diyar-Bekr, 612.

that the inhabitants emigrated in crowds, whole quarters and villages were deserted, and those who remained abandoned themselves to atrocious practices. People habitually ate human flesh, even parents killed and cooked their own children, and a wife was found eating her dead husband raw. Men waylaid women in the streets to seize their infants, and baby fricassée and haggis of children's heads were ordinary articles of diet. When detected the criminals were burnt alive, but few were caught. The very graves were ransacked for food. This went on from end to end of Egypt. The roads were death-traps, assassination and robbery reigned unchecked, and women were outraged by the multitude of reprobates whom anarchy and despair had set loose. Free girls were sold at five shillings apiece, and many women came and implored to be bought as slaves to escape starvation. An ox sold for 70 *D.*, and corn was over ten shillings the bushel. The corpses lay unburied in the streets and houses, and a virulent pestilence spread over the delta. In the country and on the caravan routes flocks of vultures, hyenas, and jackals mapped the march of death. Men dropped down at the plough, stricken with the plague. In one day at Alexandria an imām said the funeral prayers over 700 persons, and in a single month a property passed to forty heirs in rapid succession. The depreciation of property was disastrous. Owing to the decrease of population, house-rent in Cairo fell to one seventh of its former price, and the carvings and furniture of palaces were broken up to feed the oven-fires. Violent earthquakes, which were also felt throughout Syria and as far north as Armenia, shook down countless houses, devastated whole cities, and increased the general misery.

Meanwhile 'Adil was steadily consolidating his empire. His chief fear was that the Franks might take advantage of the internal divisions among Saladin's successors to renew the crusade. So, indeed, they did, but in so desultory and feeble a fashion that their efforts scarcely injured the Muslim power. Henry of Champagne, the titular king of Jerusalem, was too weak to venture on a

forward movement, and was obliged to be content to govern his coast cities and observe the truce which 'Aziz had prudently renewed on his accession. The prince of Antioch and Tripolis was perpetually engaged in keeping his neighbour, the Armenian king of Cilicia, at bay. There was no present danger from the Syrian Franks, and if a new crusade were to be set on foot, it must come from Europe. Again the pope, Celestine III, summoned the Christians to the Holy War. England and France were too busy with their own quarrel to listen to his appeal; but the emperor Henry VI took the cross in 1195, assembled an army of 60,000 men and a fleet of forty-four vessels on the Apulian coast and despatched them under the command of the bishop of Würzburg to 'Akka, where they arrived in September, 1197. The Germans, however, were no welcome allies to the French followers of Henry of Champagne, and found themselves acting alone. 'Adil took advantage of their hesitation to seize Jaffa, and the death of king Henry almost at the same time produced further confusion. Amalric of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, was chosen to succeed him on the imaginary throne of Jerusalem, and married his widow, Isabella, who had already survived three husbands. Not daring as yet to march on Jerusalem, the Germans, after defeating 'Adil near Sidon, seized Beyrut, which had already been dismantled on their approach, and then in concert with Boemond of Antioch prepared an attack upon the Holy City. At this moment the news came of the sudden death of their emperor; the Germans abandoned the siege of Toron (Tubnin) and hurried home, and 'Adil and 'Aziz were content to make peace. 1197
Sept.

The Latin Crusade, fortunately for the Muslims, stopped at Constantinople, where it established the Latin kingdom, which lasted for nearly half a century and drew off many adventurers from the Christian forces in Syria. Beyond a few skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Crac des Chevaliers and Markab, and a raid upon the coast of Egypt, no hostilities of importance took place, and in 1204 Amalric made a fresh truce with the Egyp- 1198
Feb.

tian sultan, who was glad to purchase tranquillity by the restoration of Jaffa and Ramla to the Franks. A similar truce was concluded with Tripoli in 1107. The sultan was a born diplomatist, and always preferred a treaty to a battle. He secured powerful support and corresponding immunity by the commercial treaty which he negotiated with Venice in 1108, whereby the Venetians acquired special trading facilities in Alexandria and up the Nile in return for their alleged good offices in restraining the Crusaders from an advance upon Egypt. Meanwhile Amalric had died in 1105, and his stepdaughter Mary (Isabella's child by Conrad of Montferrat) succeeded to the crown of Jerusalem, and was provided with a husband, John of Brienne, who was presently to show himself a vigorous Crusader; but at first his forces were unequal to any attempt upon the Holy City. Pope Innocent III again sounded the war-cry, but the first response, the luckless "Children's Crusade," only filled Egypt with youthful captives, betrayed to the enemy. Ashamed, perhaps, at the heroic example of the "children," Andreas, king of Hungary, supported by the grand-duke Leopold of Austria, Hugh of Cyprus, the king of Armenia, Ranulf of Chester, and many nobles and prelates, landed a considerable force at 'Akka, and

1107
Oct

Hungarians, South Germans, Frisians, and Rhinelanders, flocked to their standards. They made three useless expeditions, first to Bevsân and even beyond the Jordan; then to the fortress which 'Adil had built on Mount Tabor, which they failed to take; and thirdly against Beaufort. The sultan of Egypt watched their movements, but dared not risk an engagement. Finally the king of Hungary went home in deep chagrin, but some of the Germans remained and helped to strengthen the coast fortresses, and especially to build Castle Pilgrims (Mons Peregrinus) near Haifa.

Before this the Crusaders had begun to realize that the best way of overcoming an enemy is to strike at his vital part. Egypt was the vital part of the Muslim empire, and until Egypt were subdued, petty raids in Palestine were merely a waste of strength. Reinforced

by a fleet of Frisians and men of the Rhine, John of Brienne at last plucked up courage to make a descent upon Damietta. The king of Jerusalem was accompanied by the archduke of Austria, Count William of Holland, the Count of Wied, and the masters of the Temple, Hospital, and Teutonic order and a large army was soon encamped on the shore of the delta. Damietta was strongly fortified by a triple bastioned wall, by a great tower planted on an island in the Nile, by chains stretched across the river, and by the natural advantages of its position on a peninsula partly defended by water.

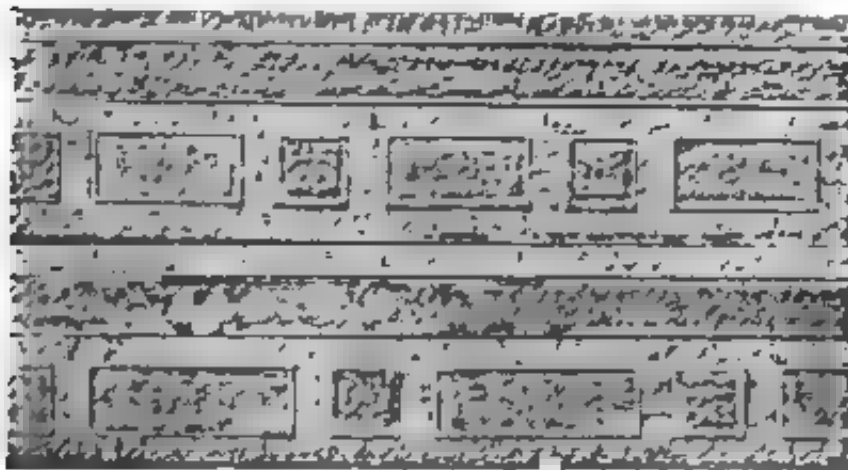


Fig. 51.—Carved border of a sheikh's tomb, 1216.

The Crusaders were on the west bank, and their efforts were directed to capturing the great tower in mid-stream. They set up siege-towers on their ships, with scaling ladders, but the fire and shot of the garrison, strongly supported by Kāmil's army on the east bank, withstood their first assault. They then lashed vessels together and built a yet more powerful castle, with a drawbridge and moored it alongside the river tower and on St Bartholomew's Day, after a fierce struggle, the defenders were forced to capitulate.

The loss of this bulwark of Egypt killed the sultan

'Adil died on 31 August, 1218, at the age of seventy-three or seventy-five. He had enjoyed a long and brilliant career from the day, fifty years before, when he had entered Egypt with Shirkuh. He had served his famous brother loyally and with exceptional ability for nearly a quarter of a century, and after his death he had spent another twenty-five years in laboriously restoring the powerful empire which Saladin's jealous sons had broken up. He had succeeded in all his plans. Every part of Saladin's empire, except northern Syria, was under his control and governed by one or other of his many sons. Cairo, Damascus, Edessa, Harrân, G'abar, Mayâfirîkin, even the Yemen, had each a son of the great sultan for its governor, and his frequent journeys from end to end of his empire kept each and all in a high state of efficiency and preparedness :—

A Monarch, whose majestic air
Fills all the range of sight, whose care
Fills all the regions everywhere,
Who such a watch doth keep
That, save where he doth set his lance
In *rest* to check the foe's advance,
His eye with bright and piercing glance
Knows neither *rest* nor sleep.¹

'The Franks had been powerless against him ; their little raids had scarcely injured him ; and the few sacrifices of territory he had made—Beyrût, Jaffa, Nazareth—were well repaid by long intervals of tranquility, during which he was continually increasing his strength. His personal character must have been attractive, for he won the admiration and friendship of King Richard and many other Crusaders. His oriental biographer² describes him as a man of extraordinary prudence and foresight, armed with information and fortified by experience, and therefore fortunate in all his undertakings. He was endowed

¹ Bahâ ed-dîn Zuhayr, ii. 258, paraphrased by Palmer to preserve the play upon the Arabic word for slumber or rest. Bahâ-ed-dîn was a contemporary poet, who afterwards became the confidant and court poet of al-Malik Ayyûb, 'Adil's grandson.

² Ibn-Khalkân, iii. 235 ff.

with remarkable physical powers, sound health, and high spirits; a great eater, who could finish off a roast lamb at a meal; passionately fond of women: he indulged in pleasure with his whole soul, and, like other strong men, made the most of his enjoyments as he did of his work.

He left to his eldest son the difficult task of driving out the Franks. El-Kāmil¹ inherited many of his father's qualities: he was a good soldier and a skilful diplomatist—too wily, indeed, for the taste of his contemporaries. He set to work at Damietta with great energy, threw a bridge or pontoon over the Nile to obstruct the Frankish vessels, and led repeated but fruitless assaults upon the enemy's position. When the bridge was cut by the Crusaders, he sank ships to block the passage. Camp fever and the Nile inundation did the Christians more damage than his onslaughts, but the very unhealthiness of their camp compelled them to advance. They determined to cross at all hazards, and with this object they deepened a large canal and thus brought their fleet up to a spot thirteen miles south of Damietta. Though at the first attempt they were frustrated by the solid array of Kāmil's troops on the opposite bank, a conspiracy among the leading Muslim generals, which threatened the sultan's throne, if not his life, and forced him to fly by night up country, produced such confusion that the Crusaders crossed almost unopposed, captured the Saracen camp, and closed round Damietta. But their difficulties were not yet over. Kāmil, aided by his brother Mu'azzam of Damascus, raised a new army, harassed the besiegers night and day, burnt their bridges, and destroyed their siege-works and entrenchments. In spite of all his efforts, however, the blockade was maintained, and starvation began to do its part. The weary Crusaders were constantly relieved and reinforced from Europe; French and English knights and men-at-arms

¹ El Kāmil's coinage is dated Cairo, 616—35 (1219—38); Alexandria, 617—34; Misr, 624; Damascus, 615—16, 627; Harrân, 623, 635. He also is named as wazir on coins of el-Azîz of Aleppo, 619; el-Ashraf of Dîyâr-Bekr, 615, and el-Muzaâffer of Dîyâr-Bekr, 618, 632.

under the counts of Nevers and Marche and the earls of Winchester, Arundel, and Chester, came to their support; whilst the still more exhausted garrison steadily dwindled, till of about 50,000 men only 4000 remained able to stand to arms. The contest was too unequal to last much longer.

Seeing this the sultan asked for terms. He offered to surrender the whole of the kingdom of Jerusalem as it was before Saladin's conquest of 1187, if Damietta were spared. Incredible as it appears, this amazingly profitable exchange was refused as inadequate: further concessions were demanded. The Crusaders were in no humour for terms of any kind. The papal legate, cardinal Pelagius, who had been elected commander-in-chief, filled with the exaltation of a pilgrim of the cross, would have no traffic with the "infidels"; others held that Damietta was too valuable a commercial centre to be abandoned. The king of Jerusalem and the northern knights in vain urged the advantages of the exchange. The cardinal carried the day, and it was resolved to press the war to the uttermost. The greatest opportunity that the Crusaders had ever been offered was irretrievably lost. When Philip Augustus, who had known how the Saracens could fight before Akka, heard that the Crusaders had refused to take a kingdom in exchange for a city, he exclaimed, "They are fools and simpletons!" It is true
 Now : Damietta fell by assault, the remnant of the exhausted garrison was ruthlessly massacred, and the alarm of the Muslims was such that they hastily demolished the walls of Jerusalem and other cities in Palestine, lest they might become strongholds of the enemy. But the taking of Damietta did not imp y the conquest of Egypt. With their usual incapacity the Franks delayed action, and spent a year and a half at Damietta quarrelling amongst
 themselves. It was not till July, 1221, that, again strongly reinforced from Germany, they took the field against the sultan. Moreover, they had chosen the wrong route for the conquest of Egypt. Damietta was a valuable port, but it was not the base from which to advance upon Cairo, the essential objective of attack.

Any army marching on the capital of Egypt would naturally choose the old road from Pelusium to Bilbeis. It had been used again and again by invaders, from the days of Cambyses and Alexander to the conquest of 'Amr and the expeditions of Amalric I. Beyond the hardships of a desert march it presented no obstacles to the advance upon Cairo. But between Damietta and the capital lay a network of canals and arms of the Nile, offering a dozen obvious positions of defence, and constituting a series of traps to an invading army which was totally ignorant of the geography of the country.¹

By this time Kamil had built strong fortifications on the Nile, a little south of Damietta, at a village which he afterwards enlarged into the city of el-Mansûra, "the Victorious." He had also summoned his kinsmen, and one and all, laying aside their rivalries in face of the common danger, rallied to his support. Mu'azzam of Damascus had joined him from the first and now the princes of Aleppo, Hama, Hims, Hama, and every part of the empire, led their contingents to the rescue of their chief. Never since Saladin lay before 'Akka had the dynasty shown a more united front than when they lined the bank of the Nile to dispute the passage of the Crusaders.

The Franks had advanced southwards, but were July speedily brought to a stand by the obstacle of Mansura and its resolute garrison of hardy Syrians and highlanders from the north, entrenched behind the "canal of Ush-mum," the old Tanitic arm of the Nile. The season was ill-chosen, for the river was rising; a number of canals intersected the flat low-lying lands of the delta, impeded strategic movements, and enabled the Muslims to bring up a fleet to their support. As soon as the inundation had risen high enough, bodies of Muslim troops spread over the plains behind and around the enemy, and cut the dams which restrained the Nile waters, the country became a lake, and the Crusaders found themselves on a peninsula, surrounded by water and by watchful foes,

¹ See Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 264-5

and practically cut off alike from advance or retreat.

Aug. On the night of 26 August they made their desperate attempt to escape to Damietta by the narrow causeway that still remained passable. Hardly were they in motion when the enemy was upon them from every quarter. The road to the north was already occupied in force by the Saracens. Struggling through the inundated fields, enmeshed among the deeper canals, the knights fought their way with magnificent valour. For two nights and days the hopeless contest was maintained, and then the Crusaders cried for quarter. The more hot-headed Muslims were for exterminating the "infidels" at one blow, but Kāmil, true to the statesmanlike policy of his father, overruled them. He perceived that generous terms would end the war of the creeds, at least for a time, whilst a butchery would infallibly lead to a crusade of revenge and probably nerve the garrison of Damietta to resistance. He allowed the Crusaders to depart, they must evacuate Egypt, surrender Damietta, and keep the peace for eight years. The proviso was added, however, that any crowned European king should have the right to break the truce. A fresh reinforcement from Germany about this time landed near Damietta, and took the news of the treaty in very ill part, but repudiation was out of the question, whilst the main army and valuable hostages were still in the power of the Saracens. In a week the whole of the crusading host, which had begun the campaign forty months before with high hopes and signal success, left the shores of Egypt in shame.

All this time there had been no attempt to recover Jerusalem. The neglect was not due merely to strategical reasons. The spirit of the Crusaders had changed, zeal for the faith had mellowed into worldly wisdom. The men on the spot, the Franks settled in Syria, preferred their wealthy coast cities, full of Italian traders and bordered by rich cultivated lands, to the desolate interior of Palestine, laid waste by the struggle with Saladin and the systematic neglect of his successors, who had no wish to tempt the Christians to an occupation. The mer-

chants, and especially the Venetians, seeing no commercial advantages in arid plains, deserted villages, and waterless routes, had fixed their eyes on Damietta and Alexandria, which to them were worth fifty Jerusalem. The old craving for the city of Christ's passion had been quenched in the appetite for wealth. Yet the spirit was not dead: it still animated the indomitable bishops of Rome, and, despite his philosophical attitude towards religion, the call of Christendom compelled the young emperor Frederick II to undertake a new crusade. The peace of 1221 had reserved to a "European crowned head" the right of rupture, and Frederick was clearly indicated in the proviso. He had taken the cross as early as 1215; he had sent troops to reinforce the luckless army in Egypt at the very time of its surrender, in 1223 he married the "heirress of Jerusalem," the daughter of King John of Brienne, and, though Yolande died three years later, he claimed and assumed her crown to the exclusion of her father. His crusade was delayed year after year on one pretext or another, and he brought upon himself the ban of the impatient pope; but at last, despite the papal prohibition, he sailed for Syria, with only 600 knights, more "like a pirate and follower of Mohammad," said Gregory IX, than as a king and a soldier of Christ.

Frederick's Crusade was unique in all its circumstances. He won Jerusalem against the will of the church and without a single battle. His forces, in truth, were too weak to risk an engagement with the powerful armies of the Saracens. His contemptuous treatment of John of Brienne had alienated the sympathies of many of the settled Christians; his contest with Rome lost him the support of zealous churchmen. The religious orders of the Temple and Hospital sullenly refused to follow a leader who was under the curse of the Holy See. No one in Syria seemed to care very much about the recovery of Jerusalem. But Frederick had an argument on his side that outweighed all these negations. Kâmil had encountered a rival in his brother Mu'azzam, the lord of Damascus, who was suspected of taking advantage

of the exhaustion after the siege of Damietta, and of presuming upon his own services in the war, to shake off the sovereign powers¹ that Egypt claimed over the empire of Saladin. Alarmed at this disaffection, Kāmil had sent an embassy to Frederick, as sovereign of the Saracens of Sicily, offering him the kingdom of Jerusalem in exchange for his support. In return Bishop Bernard of Palermo had come on a mission to Cairo, and costly presents had been exchanged. Frederick was on exceptionally good terms with the Muslims, and his toleration gave rise to suspicions of his orthodoxy. The pope, as we have seen, called him "a follower of Mohammad," and the correspondence which has been published between the emperor and the Arab philosopher Ibn-Sabīn,² together with the metaphysical discussions into which Frederick loved to draw Kāmil's envoys after his arrival in Syria, point at least to what we should now call emancipated views, which in those days were apt, in the case of less distinguished advocates, to lead to the stake. An Arab historian confesses that "the emperor was the most excellent among the kings of the Franks, devoted to science, philosophy and medicine, and well-disposed towards Muslims," and twenty years later Joinville found that his kinship to Frederick was the best passport with the mamlaks. This toleration, probably shared by Kāmil, who had associated with European nobles, doubtless led to a mutual appreciation. There is no evidence that any treaty was signed, but some understanding was arrived at. Meantime the situation was changed. Mu'azzam died in the winter of 1227; the danger of Syrian rivalry was hardly critical enough to press Kāmil to any great renunciation, and it says much for the emperor's diplomacy that he was able to bring his Egyptian correspondent to the point of the treaty, signed on 11 February, 1229, and ratified on oath a week

¹ This is denied by Abū-l-Fidā, who says that Mu'azzam was invariably deferential to Kāmil, and always caused his name to be recited as sovereign in the public prayers.

² Published by Prof. Mehren.

later by the two sovereigns. Kamil was no doubt in some measure committed by his previous proposals, but his main motive is to be found in the valuable counter-guarantees of the emperor.

The treaty of 1229 was the most remarkable that was ever signed between a Christian and a Mohammadan power, before the days of European engagements with the Turkish empire. On his part the sultan of Egypt surrendered Jerusalem (which was not to be fortified, however), together with Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the pilgrim road to Jaffa and thence to 'Akka, into the absolute possession of the emperor, reserving only the *haram* of Jerusalem, enclosing the mosque of 'Omar, for the exclusive use and possession of unarmed Muslims. He also released all Christian prisoners, including many of the unhappy victims of the "Children's Crusade." The emperor in return engaged to defend the sultan against *all* enemies, even Christians, and guaranteed that the northern Syrian princes of Antioch, Tripolis, and various other places, should receive no assistance from any external power. These engagements were to hold good for ten years and a half.

There is no doubt that, if the treaty were honestly observed, Kamil gained much more than he lost by it. The territory sacrificed was of little value, and the only part of Jerusalem specially sacred to the Muslims was reserved; whilst the advantages of the emperor's defensive alliance were overwhelming. However satisfactory the result may have appeared to the two high contracting parties, the treaty roused a storm of indignation among the zealots of both sides. The Holy City was indeed once more Christian—save one part—but at what a cost of honour! Frederick, said the papal party, had bargained with the "infidels" instead of slaying them. Most of the old Latin kingdom was still in the hands of the Saracens. And the prince of Antioch, and the military orders who held many castles in the north of Syria, deeply resented the clause that cut them off from all succour from Europe; it looked, indeed, very much like a spiteful revenge for their disaffection. The

Muslims, for their part, regarded the whole transaction as a shameful betrayal of Islam to the "infidel."

1129
Mar

17 Frederick entered Jerusalem within a month of the treaty, and, enthroning himself in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, set the crown upon his own head. The next day the archbishop of Caesarea placed the Holy City under an interdict, to the amazement and indignation of the crowds of pilgrims: "the place where Jesus Christ suffered and was buried," they cried, "is banned by a pope!" Scared

by the calamity, they hurriedly followed the emperor to Akka, whence, after appointing honest men to govern his new acquisitions, and strengthening by all possible means the Teutonic order, he

May 1 sailed for Italy. The Crusade was over, and though it had procured the recovery of Jerusalem, the city was in the midst of a hostile country and could not be held against any attack in force. Kāmil religiously observed the treaty he

had sworn (as did the Christians by the pope's reconsidered order), but he could not always prevent bands of fanatical Muslims from ill-using the pilgrims and disturbing the peace of the Holy City. The emperor's haughty treatment of many of the Syrian and Cypriote nobles left unhealed wounds and led to a series of quarrels. The gain to Christendom from the Crusade was insignificant, but the fault lay more with the

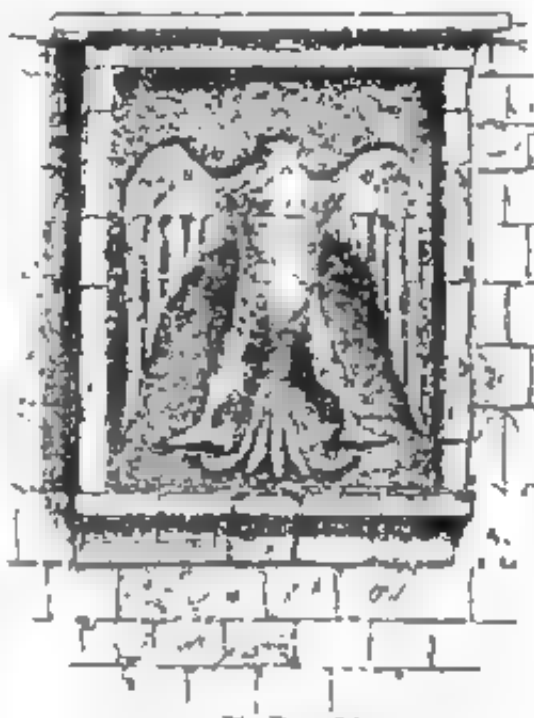


Fig. 52.—Eagle on Citadel of Cairo, probably early 13th century.

pope and his supporters than with the indiscreet emperor.

The nine remaining years of Kāmil's life were free from crusading molestation, and also from serious rivalry among his own kindred. His title to be the head of the various provinces ruled by the Ayyūbids was generally recognized. He appointed his brother Ashraf as viceroy at Damascus and the two brothers made an expedition into the Euphrates country, and took Āmid from the Ortukid prince whose ancestors had reigned there for 130 years. Kāmil endeavoured to cement the family union by marrying his daughters to the princes of Aleppo and Hamāh, and though unsuccessful in a campaign against Kay-Kubād, the Selguk sultan of Asia Minor, he recovered Edessa from him, and maintained his authority over the whole of the empire inherited from his father. It was not maintained without friction, for the minor princes of his family regarded him with jealous suspicion and distrusted his crafty diplomacy.

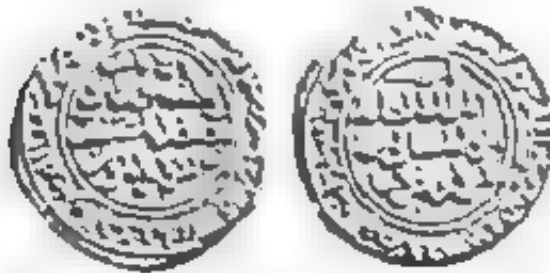


Fig. 53.—Dinār of el-Kāmil, Alexandria, 1225.

There was a rupture with Ashraf in 1236, and on his death in 1237 Kāmil marched upon Damascus to assert his rights as supreme king. The city was defended by his brother es-Şaliḥ Ismā'il, supported by

the lords of Aleppo and Hamā, who were not descended from 'Ādil and had always held as aloof as they dared from him and Kāmil. After a vigorous siege, an accommodation was arranged; the Egyptian sultan was given Damascus, Şaliḥ received Ba'albekk and other cities; and Hamā was punished for meddling. But the exposure and hardships of a winter campaign proved too much for Kāmil's strength; fever ensued, and at Damascus he died. For forty years he had governed Egypt, twenty before and twenty after 'Ādil's death. As a statesman he was his father's equal, prudent and firm in counsel,

an energetic and capable administrator, who managed his kingdom alone. After the death of his father's wazīr, Šafi-ed-dīn, he employed no prime minister, but performed all the business of the state himself. Egypt prospered exceedingly under his reign. He laboured to improve the irrigation system, personally inspected the work of the engineers, extended and improved the canals, dikes, and dams, ensured the safety of travellers, completed the fortification of the Citadel of Cairo; and being a devout Muslim he founded many institutions, such as the Dar-el-Hadīth or Kāmiliya college in the Beyn-el-Kāstreyn. Like most of his family he loved learning and the society of scholars, and was able to hold his own in the literary debates which took place at his Thursday evening receptions.

He was succeeded by his son el-Aḥil II,¹ a profligate who was deposed by a conspiracy among his officers in a couple of years, when his brother es-Šāḥ Ayyūb assumed the throne. The chief events of Šāḥ's reign took place in

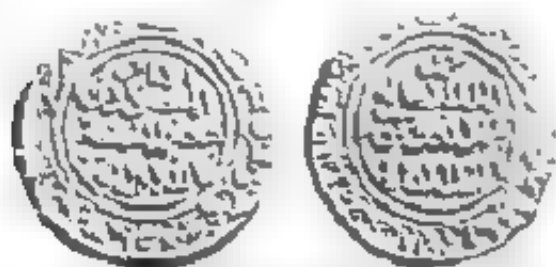


Fig. 54.—Dinar of es-Šāḥ Ayyūb, Cairo, 1239.

1239 Syria, where he had a determined enemy in his uncle, es-Šāḥ Ismā'il, who had seized Damascus in 1239 and now sought to strengthen himself by the support of the Franks, to whom he surrendered the castles of Shekīf, Safad, Tiberias, and Ascalon. The Christians, however, were in no very efficient condition. The disastrous crusade of the king of Navarre, the duke of

¹ The younger 'Adīl's coins are dated Cairo, 635—37 (1238—40); Damascus, 635. He died in prison in the citadel of Cairo in Feb., 1248. There is a casket of inlaid silver and brass bearing his titles in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington.

² Es-Šāḥ Ayyūb struck coins at Cairo, 637—46 (1240—48); Damascus, 644, 645, and he is named as suzerain on a coin of en-Nāṣir of Damascus, 647 (1249).

Burgundy, and the count of Montfort, defeated at Gaza, and barely rescued from destruction by the prudence of ¹²⁴¹ Richard of Cornwall and Simon of Montfort, paralyzed the energy of the Franks. The savage Khwārizmian tribes, driven westward by the invasion of Chingiz Khān, and called in by Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to aid in the extirpation of the Christians, took Jerusalem, massacred 7000 of the ¹²⁴⁴ helpless inhabitants, and restored the Holy City once ^{Sept.} more and finally to Islām. The combined forces of the Franks and the Syrian Muslims were disastrously routed ^{Oct.} by the Egyptians and Kharizmians near Gaza; Ayyūb recovered Damascus (1245), and Ascalon (1247); and restored his kingdom to the same height of power that it had reached under his father and grandfather. His victori-

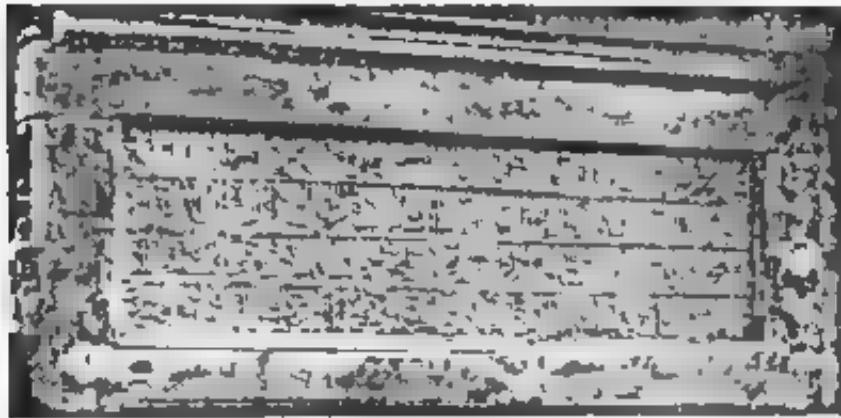


Fig. 55.—Inscription on tomb of ṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, at Cairo, 1252.

ous campaigns were only checked by a severe illness, during which he received the despatch announcing Louis IX's invasion of Egypt. He immediately had ¹²⁴⁹ himself transported in a litter to the threatened scene of war.

The Crusade of Louis of France was perhaps the only expedition since the days of Godfrey of Bouillon that deserved the name of a Holy War. It was led by a saintly hero, a veritable Sir Galahad, whose 'whole life was a prayer, his whole aim to do God's will', a king

whose high and noble character inspired universal trust and reverence; a leader whose courage and endurance rested on the sanctions of faith as well as on the obligations of knightly honour. The very loftiness and purity of his nature, however, were impediments in controlling an unruly and licentious army, but the main cause of his lamentable failure is to be sought partly in his ignorance of the topography of the field of action, partly in the inadequacy of his force. His was no crusade of all Europe, such as St. Bernard had excited; Germany and Italy were absorbed in the quarrel between pope and emperor, and the king of France had to depend mainly on his own subjects. He collected some 2800 French knights, with their numerous squires and men-at-arms, and 5000 archers, and these were joined by small contingents from England, Cyprus, and the Syrian Franks.¹ The French sailed in 1720 ships, but the larger half was dispersed by storms between Cyprus and Egypt and driven into the Syrian ports, and only 700 vessels reached Damietta at the beginning of June.²

¹⁷²⁰ ^{June} The city was garrisoned by Arabs of the Kināna tribe, famous for their bravery, supported by an Egyptian army under Fakhr-ed-dīn; but no sooner had the French appeared than the garrison fled, followed by all the inhabitants, and the Egyptians fell back on Manṣūra.

Louis occupied Damietta almost without striking a blow. Like John of Brienne he had landed on the wrong side of the Nile, but as the enemy in their haste had neglected to destroy the pontoons, he crossed without difficulty. Again, like his predecessor of thirty years before, he committed the fatal mistake of delaying his advance. His one chance was to push on to Cairo before the Nile rose and whilst the Saracens, panic-stricken at the loss of Damietta, were paralyzed by the illness of their dying sultan, whose stern execution of the

¹ The Arab historians estimate the total force in round figures at 50,000.

² According to Joinville, 27 May; but most authorities place the occupation of Damietta, which took place immediately after the arrival of the fleet, on June 5 or 6.

fugitive Kinda scarcely reassured his followers. Instead of this, the French waited at Damietta nearly six months, expecting the arrival of the rest of the troops who had been driven to Syria. These reached the seat of war in October, and a debate was then held whether to go to On Alexandria or to march direct upon Cairo. It was decided to "strike at the head of the snake," and the *Kine* march towards Cairo began. Once more the vicious precedent of 1219 was followed. Forgetful or ignorant of the disastrous lessons then learnt, the Crusaders again risked the endless obstacles of an advance through a country intersected by deep canals and arms of the Nile, instead of choosing a fresh departure and an easy march through open country from Pelusium. They took a month to work their way less than fifty miles up the river, and all this time, during nearly seven months of unexpected grace, the Saracen army had been constantly reinforced, and had so completely recovered from its panic that the Christians were frequently surprised in their tents by adventurous Muslems, eager to win the reward offered for every "infidel" head.

The French were brought to a stop at exactly the same spot as their unfortunate precursors of 1219. They reached Sharmesa at the corner where the old Tanitic branch of the Nile—then known as the canal of Ushmûm, and now as the Little River (Bahr-ey-Sugheyyr)—divides eastwards from the great Damietta arm. On their right was the main course of the eastern Nile, in front the Little River, on the opposite side of which could be seen the camp of the Egyptian army resting on the town of Mansûra, some four miles south of the point where the rivers divided,¹ and supported by ships on the

¹ The Rev. E. J. Davis, of Alexandria, in his *Invasion of Egypt by Louis IX.*, 32-34, gives some interesting topographical details derived from local observation and researches. He states that in 1249 the Little River branched off from the Damietta arm some four or five miles north of Mansûra, instead of (as now, close to the town. Joinville's name for the Little River, "canal de Kexi," he derives from the village of Derkhis, still existing, and not from "Kometia," thus indicating Joinville from an absurd mistake. He also recounts the discovery of a large number of skulls, pronounced to be European,

main stream. To advance, one or other of the two rivers must be crossed, and Louis chose the smaller. He immediately began throwing a dam or causeway across the Little River, and before Christmas he had erected two "cats" or pent-houses to protect the working parties, and a couple of bellfries or armed towers to guard the cats. The Saracens on the other side undermined the bank, which was speedily washed away by the stream, so as to maintain the breadth of the channel, and they directed a heavy discharge of missiles from their sixteen stone-throwers (*perrières, peltrariers*) upon the French defences. The latter replied from eighteen machines, and an artillery duel was kept up across the river for some time. The causeway was the centre of the attack. The Muslims harassed the working parties by a sustained fire of bolts, arrows, and stones, by land and water, and twice they destroyed the cats and other wooden works by a copious discharge of Greek fire. To add to the dangers of this position, they crossed the Little River at a lower part, and attacked the king's army from the rear. They were beaten off, but Louis had now to entrench his camp on the north-east, and guard it on all sides.

The causeway was still unfinished, the river as impassable as ever, when a traitor—some "infidel of Salmun," it was said—betrayed a secret ford, higher up the Little River, for 500 gold pieces; and on Feb., Shrove Tuesday, the king of France took the flower of his knights, his mounted men, and horse-archers to the place. The cavalry crossed in three divisions or "battles;" first, the Templars, then the second division, and horse-archers, under the king's brother, Robert count of Artois, and in the rear, the king's battle and his personal following. The passage was unopposed, though not unobserved, but no sooner had the count of Artois reached the other side than, in direct disobedience of the king's orders, he insisted on an immediate ad-

scattered over a considerable area, "like a vast cemetery," north-east of Mansura, which he believes to be the remains of the Crusaders who fell in the battle of Shrove Tuesday.

vance against the enemy. The master of the Temple and William Longsword, titular earl of Salisbury, vainly prayed him to wait till the king's division had crossed. He replied with taunts, which left them no option but to join him in his foolhardy gallop. They all charged furiously through the Saracens' camp¹ right into Mansura and out at the other side. They slew the Muslim commander-in-chief, Bakhr-ed-din, who was in the bath and had barely time to get his weapons. He had been knighted by Frederick II, but his knighthood did not save him. The Crusaders broke up into scattered bands, and enjoyed their fill of personal encounters, regardless of any formation or precaution against attack. They were even venturing upon the conquest of the sultan's palace on the river bank behind the city, when their well-deserved fate overtook them.

The ordinary Egyptian and Arab levies had broken in disorder, but the trusty squadrons of perhaps 10,000 mamlûka, whom Šāhī had carefully trained as a *corps d'élite*, were not so easily scared. They rallied near the palace, and their furious charge under Beybars the Arbalester turned the fortune of the day. The Crusaders were driven into the narrow streets of Mansura, which were already barricaded and the windows and roofs manned by archers; and here or in the entanglements of the tents the chivalry of France was cut to pieces. The count of Artois and 300 of his knights were killed; of the Templars scarcely five escaped; Longsword and nearly all the English stood their ground to the death; the horse-archers were exterminated, and the Muslims reckoned 1500 knights and nobles among the dead. The remnant were driven towards the Little River, where Louis, after repeated charges, had succeeded in gaining a position opposite the unfinished causeway. In repelling the assaults of the mamlûka, the king exposed himself to great danger, and many of his best knights were captured and

¹ This is not clear in Joinville, but appears evident from the letter of Jean Pierre Sarrasin to Nicholas Arnout, printed at the end of Michel's edition of Joinville.

rescued. It was impossible with swordsmen alone to drive off the mounted bowmen of the enemy, who held the advantage of a long range; but the army on both sides of the river had been desperately hard at work building a make-shift bridge over the space still open between the causeway and the south bank. The captured *perrières* and other engines of the enemy, fascines, and timber of all sorts, furnished the material; and by sunset the duke of Burgundy, who commanded the camp, was able to send across a body of infantry cross-bowmen, under the constable of France, who effectually covered the exhausted remnant of the cavalry, and compelled the mamûks to draw off. Before this, however, many of the French, in panic, had plunged their horses into the river in the hope of reaching the camp, and the stream was dark with the floating bodies of drowned men and horses.

The battle of Mansûra was but a Pyrrhic victory. Louis indeed held possession of the south shore of the Little River, and had captured the enemy's camp and destroyed their war-engines. But he had lost perhaps half his cavalry and all his horse-archers, and had so little discomfited the Saracens that in three days they were vigorously attacking the bridge-head which he had constructed to guard the causeway, whilst he was only able to maintain the defensive. The battle is a signal illustration of the essential interdependence of cavalry and infantry. Without his foot archers, Louis would have been driven into the river. It was probably inevitable that his advance across the ford should be made by mounted men alone; but once across, their first object should have been to get into touch with the infantry left behind on the north side, and to complete the bridge. This was clearly the king's plan, and its ruin was solely due to the impetuosity of the count of Artois.¹

The chief credit of the day belongs to the steady

¹ Mr. Oman has ably criticized the battle of Mansûra in his *History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 338—50.

fighting of the mamlûks, who bore the brunt of the battle and inflicted the chief punishment upon their rash opponents. Their steadiness was the more remarkable because they were without a king to lead them. Šālih Ayyûb had died on Nov. 21, when the French were just setting forth from Damietta on their fatal march. He is described as a prince of strong character, ascetic, taciturn, severe, and intensely proud and autocratic. He was ambitious, and undoubtedly maintained and even enhanced all the power he had inherited from el-Kāmil.¹ His death at the critical moment was a serious disaster. His eldest son Turānshāh was far away at Kevla in Diyār-Bekr. The natural result of an interregnum at such a time would be a struggle between rival emirs for the regency or even the throne, and the collapse of any organization against the enemy. Fortunately, Šālih left in his harim a singularly capable woman—a Turkish, or, as some say, Armenian slave, named Sheger-ed-durr ("Pearl-spray"). She at once took charge of the situation. Calling together two or three trusty emirs, she formed her plans in consultation. The sultan's death was concealed; he was given out to be seriously ill, but his meals were regularly sent in to where he was supposed to lie, and the necessary orders of state duly appeared, authenticated by his autograph forged by Saheyl the eunuch. Whatever suspicions may have been aroused, no overt disturbances occurred, and Sheger-ed-durr and her officers managed the government and defence of the country with unqualified success. She was still the mainspring of the state, holding the court, receiving the ministers and generals on behalf of her "sick" master, and watching over the discipline of the army, when the battle of Manşûra was fought. Through all the anxious time between November and February, when the heir, who had been urgently summoned, at last arrived, Sheger-ed-durr held the Muslim kingdom together.

¹ He built the castle of Râda, and that of Kebab, between Cairo and Fustât, besides the town of Šālihiya. His tomb-mosque still stands in the Beyn-el-Kaşrayn at Cairo.

- Feb. When Tūrānshāh came, she immediately resigned her
 27 temporary authority. The young man, who enjoyed no
 very popular reputation, at least conducted the campaign
 with energy and skill. His first move was to take a
 number of ships to pieces and transport them on camel-
 back to a point on the Damietta arm of the Nile at some
 Mar. distance below the French fleet;¹ there they were put
 together, and the result of the stratagem was the
 capture of thirty-two French ships and the stopping of
 all supplies for the crusading army. Louis was now in a
 hopeless position. He was not strong enough to break
 through the enemy and force his way to Cairo; his
 supplies were cut off, and the troops began to feel the
 effects of low rations, added to the deadly influence of
 camp fever. Still he waited, too proud to turn his back
 upon the enemy, though he retired to the north side of the
 Little River, still holding the bridge-head on the south.
 At last he opened negotiations, in the vain hope that
 the Saracens would renew the terms offered by Kāmil in
 1219—an exchange of Damietta for the kingdom of
 Jerusalem—but this time it was the Muslims who de-
 clined the bargain. Finally, when the army was all but
 starving, and fever, want, and wounds had exhausted its
 strength, the king burned his war-engines, abandoned
 Apr. his camp and baggage, and set out by night on the
 3-6 desperate retreat towards Damietta, himself taking the
 post of danger in the rearguard. In the confusion, the
 bridge and causeway over the river were left standing.
 The Saracens streamed over in pursuit, massacred the
 abandoned sick, kept up a running fight as far as
 Fāreskūr, two-thirds of the way to Damietta, and there
 made an end of the Christian army. Tūrānshāh himself
 wrote that 30,000 Crusaders were slain; it is at least
 certain that almost the whole French host was either

¹ They were probably transported "from the Nile at Semennūd over-
 land to the great canal which issues from the canal of Mahalla a little
 to the south of the town of that name. In 1249 this canal com-
 municated with the Nile a long distance down by means of a side
 canal" (Davis, 46).

killed or taken prisoners, and of the prisoners all except those of gentle birth were massacred.

King Louis was laid low with fever when he was taken, and the Sieur de Joinville, who wrote the moving chronicle of the crusade and himself played a brave man's part in the battle of Mansûra, was also among the captives. They were eventually held to ransom for 100,000 livres (10,000,000 francs) for the lives of the army, and the surrender of Damietta in exchange for the king. It is related that Louis exhibited such regal indifference when the amount of the ransom was stated to him, that Tûrânshâh, not to be outdone, reduced the sum by a quarter. The prisoners went in great peril when the sultan, who had contrived to make himself generally hated in his two months' reign, had offended his stepmother and slighted the Bahet generals, was murdered by the mamlûks.¹ Happily, the woman who May had already saved Egypt again assumed the throne, and the terms of ransom were honourably confirmed, in spite of the opposition of the more fanatical Muslims. The French went to Damietta, where Louis's queen had scraped together the stipulated half of the ransom. Thence he sailed in May for 'Akka, with the remnant of Nov. his gallant and unfortunate army. Damietta, which had tempted so many Christian invasions, was soon afterwards razed to the ground and rebuilt on a safer site further inland, whilst a boom was stretched across the mouth of the river.

With the murder of Tûrânshâh, the Ayyûbid dynasty came to an end in Egypt. The mamlûks were now the masters, and their history belongs to the next chapter. Beyond 'Abd-el-Latif's description of the famine years, we have few detailed notices of the internal condition of Egypt under the sultans of the line of Saladin. The general but vague testimony of the historians goes to show that the country was prosperous as a rule, and that the three kings, whose reigns cover nearly the

¹ Joinville was an eye-witness of the murder, which was accomplished in the river where the sultan was swimming to escape with a sword stuck in his ribs.

whole interval from 1196 to 1250, were intelligent and capable governors, fully alive to the agricultural interests of the land, and to the importance of order and justice. We hear of no revolts or conspiracies, except against two notoriously unworthy sultans. Of the high character and cultivated tastes of the three chief rulers, 'Ādil, Kāmil, and Šālih, we have contemporary evidence from Ibn-Khalikān, Ibn-el-Athir, and Bahā-ed-din Zuheyr, and it is clear that the society which these learned men, and 'Abd-el-Latif, met in Cairo was intellectually distinguished and found appreciation at the court. Bahā-ed-din was the secretary and intimate of Šālih, and his poetry reflects the court life of Egypt before the middle of the thirteenth century. It is not what is generally expected in oriental poetry, but in its playfulness, *lonkhamie*, humour, and light treatment of serious things, it more resembles European *vers de société*, whilst in some of its panegyrics it succeeds in being stately without affectation, and admiring without servility. The Ayyūbid kings showed a business-like readiness to open the country to European trade. In 1208 'Ādil granted special facilities to the Venetians throughout Egypt, and allowed them to build a fundak or mart, called the Sūḳ-ed-dik, at Alexandria. Similar privileges were granted about the same time to the Pisans, who sent a consul to Alexandria, and these concessions were renewed in 1215-6. The Christian invasion of 1219 naturally interfered with commercial relations, and no further record of trading privileges occurs till 1238, when 'Ādil II confirmed their former rights to the Venetians. The duties paid by non-Muslim traders on all goods imported into Egypt was a tenth of their value.¹

¹ In an interesting description of Fustāt, Ibn-Sa'id, the Spanish Moor, states that "ships and vessels of all sorts arrive from all the lands of the earth at the quays on the Nile. . . . As for the merchandise from the Mediterranean and the Red Sea which comes to Fustāt, it is beyond description, for it is here collected, not at Cairo, and from here it is forwarded to all parts of the country." The passage has been translated by Mr. Corbet (see Mrs. Fuchet's *Chronicle of Egypt*, ii 148-51).

The relations of the Ayyūbids with their Christian subjects grew more friendly as time went on. Saladin and his brother 'Adil had been severe and exacting, but Kāmil was recognized by the church of Egypt as the most generous and beneficent sovereign they ever had. As prince regent he often interceded with his father in favour of the Christians, and when he succeeded him he continued the same policy, and resolutely refused to meddle in the petty squabbles of the "national church." His correspondence with the emperor Frederick showed a toleration which was rare among Muslims, and apparently led the Christians to believe that the sultan might be converted. St. Francis of Assisi himself visited the court in 1219 and preached before Kāmil, and was at least received with respect, and in 1245 we find Šālih writing to pope Innocent IV regretting that he was unable to argue with the Preaching Friars by reason of the impediment of an unknown language. The crusade of St. Louis, however, exasperated the Saracens, and it is said that 115 churches were destroyed in consequence of the conquest of Damietta.

As a whole the period of Ayyūbid rule in Egypt, in point of imperial power, internal prosperity, and resolute defence against invasion, stands pre-eminent in the history of the country.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST MAMLŪKS

1250—1277

Authorities.—Abū l Fida, on *Sumayr*, el Makrīk el Aynī, Abū l Mahasin, es-Surūf modern *Med.*, *Gesch. des Abbasidenreichs in Egypten*, *Quatrecentie. Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, and *Mém. sur l'Égypte*, Lane Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, and *Cairo, an Or. Coins in H.M.*; Köhricht, *Regium*, Heworth, *Hist. of the Mamluks*, iii.

Monuments at Cairo.—Tomb-monque of es-Sālih Ayyūb, 1250; tomb of Shagʻar-ed-dīn, m. l. r. s. (1202), and mosque of es-Zahir Beybars, 1267-9; Dār-el-'Ahl, below ram parts of citadel.

Inscriptions.—On monuments above, and below in channel of Fatima, 1254; tomb of 'Amīr Kabūd at Barisā, 1259; *Baybars* in Agha, 1266; on citadel of Damāwiz, 1261; at tomb of Khān al Ilmā, 1260, 1267; on white mosque at Hamā, 1267; at Karak, 1271; at Sāfīd, *Croc des Chevaliers*, Bānās, Yūbā, Lykha, and el-Kahl (*M. van Berchem, Corpus and Insur. Ar. de Syrie*, and MSS. mss.).

Coins.—See under each reign.

THE word *mamlūk* means "owned," "belonging to," and was specially applied to white male slaves captured in war or purchased in the market. The habit of employing a large body guard of foreign and especially Turkish slaves dates from the time of the 'Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad (see above, pp. 50 ff.), who imported the handsome vigorous youth of central Asia to protect them against the Arab tribes and the rising power of the provincial governors, and found that their Turkish guard became their gaoles. In the same fashion the most able and ambitious of the slave generals of the Selgūk sultans became the founders of the numerous independent dynasties that gradually shared what was left of the Selgūk empire. The practice of employing slave officers and troopers naturally prevailed among the dynasties that had risen from the same condition. Nūr-ed-dīn and Salādin were surrounded by choice companies of mamlūks, brought up with peculiar care,

exercised in all manly exploits, splendidly equipped and trained in the art of war. The system of a *halka* or bodyguard of white slaves or freed men was continued under Saladin's successors, and was brought to the highest pitch of efficiency by his grandnephew *ay-Salih* Ayyub. This sultan had early experience of the jealousies of his kinsmen and the hostility of the Franks; he put little trust in the ordinary Egyptian and Arab levies, and created a small but perfectly trained army of purchased slaves, his personal property, who owed everything to his favour. He imported these mamluks from various markets, but wherever they were bought, the great majority were Turks. The *corps d'élite* of picked horsemen were stationed at the castle which he had built on the island of Roda, opposite Fustat, on the Nile, and from their river barracks they acquired the name of the fluvial or "Bahri Mamluks," "the white slaves of the river." They were not the only mamluks in his service, by any means, but they were the most favoured and powerful regiment—The circumstance of slavery was so far from a stigma that a little later we find a celebrated emir (*Kawqun*) looked askance upon because he had *not* been a slave and the relationship of slave to master in the east has always approached kinship more nearly than servitude. The Bahris were proud of their origin, and it formed no bar to their advancement. Their colonels, or "emirs of a thousand," exercised great influence, and one of them, Fars-ed-din Akta, succeeded Fakhr-ed-din as commander-in-chief after the battle of Manqura. These officers had already risen before Salih's death, from the ranks of the common slaves to posts of honour at their master's court; they had become cup-bearers, or tasters, or masters of the horse, and had won their enfranchisement; and these freed mamluks became in turn the masters and owners of other mamluks. Thus at the very beginning of their history we find a number of powerful emirs who had acquired a large body of retainers whom they led to battle and who were ready to support them to the death. After the murder of Turanshah, which was the work of the Bahris, it was but a short step to

the throne, and for the next 130 years the colonels of this celebrated regiment, and their descendants, rapidly succeeded each other as sultans of Egypt.¹ The only title to kingship among these nobles was personal prowess and the command of the largest number of adherents. In the absence of other influences the hereditary principle was no doubt adopted, and we find one family, that of Kālā'ūn, maintaining its succession to the throne for several generations; but as a rule the successor to the kingly power was the most powerful lord of the day, and his hold on the throne depended chiefly on the strength of his following and his conciliation of the other nobles. The annals of mamlūk dominion are full of instances of a great lord reducing the authority of the reigning sultan to a shadow, and then stepping over his murdered body to the throne. Most of these sultans died violent deaths at the hands of rival emirs, and the safety of the ruler of the time depended mainly upon the numbers and courage of his guard. This body-guard enjoyed remarkable privileges and was the object of continual solicitude on the part of the sultan. As his own safety and power depended upon the guards' fidelity, he was accustomed to bestow upon them grants of lands, rich dresses of honour, and unstinted largesse. The greater part of the land of Egypt came to be held by the emirs and soldiers of the guard in fiefs granted by the crown. These soldiers of the guard numbered several thousand, and must have passed from sultan to sultan at every change of ruler; their colonels became important factors in the choice of rulers, and often deposed or set up a king as seemed good to them. The sultan, or chief mamlūk, was in fact more or less, according to his character, at the mercy of the officers of his guard; and the principal check he possessed upon their ambition or discontent was found in their own mutual jealousies, which might be played upon so as to neutralize their opposition.

¹ Some of the following pages are reprinted, with emendations, from my *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, ch. ii.

Each of the great lords, were he an officer of the guard, or a court official, or merely a private nobleman, was a mamlūk sultan in miniature. He, too, had his guard of mamlūk slaves, who waited at his door to escort him in his rales abroad, were ready at his behest to attack the public baths and carry off the women, defended him when a rival lord besieged his palace, and followed him valiantly as he led the charge of his division on the field of battle. These great lords, with their retainers, were a constant menace to the reigning sultan. A coalition would be formed among a certain number of disaffected nobles, with the support of some of the officers of the household or of the guard, and their retainers would mass in the approaches to the royal presence, while a trusted cup-bearer or other officer, whose duties permitted him access to the king's person, would strike the fatal blow; and the conspirators would forthwith elect one of their number to succeed to the vacant throne. This was not effected without a struggle; the royal guard was not always to be bribed or overcome, and there were generally other nobles whose interests attached them to the reigning sovereign rather than to any possible successor, except themselves, and who would be sure to oppose the plot. Then there would be a street fight; the terrified people would close their shops, run to their houses, and shut the great gates which isolated the various quarters and markets of the city, and the rival factions of mamlūks would ride through the streets that remained open, pillaging the houses of their adversaries, carrying off women and children, holding pitched battles in the road, or discharging arrows and spears from the windows upon the enemy in the street below. These things were of constant occurrence, and the life of the merchant classes of Cairo must have been exciting. We read how the great bazar, called the Khān-el-Khalīl, was sometimes shut up for a week while these contests were going on in the streets without, and the rich merchants of Cairo huddled trembling behind the stout gates.

The uncertainty of the tenure of power and the

general brevity of their reigns (they average about five years), make it the more astonishing that the mamlūk sultans found leisure to promote the many noble works of architecture and engineering which distinguish their rule above any other period of Egyptian history since the Christian era. The actual office of sultan was no sinecure, apart from the constant vigilance needed to manage the refractory mamlūks. The sultan was supreme judge, and had to sit regularly, not only to hear causes, but to receive complaints and petitions from any subject who chose to present them. He had to control a large correspondence, and most sultans took a personal share in drafting the dispatches to all parts of the empire and to foreign powers. The most famous and energetic of all the Bahri sultans, Beybars, established a well-organized system of posts, connecting every part of his wide dominions with the capital. Relays of horses were in readiness at each posting-house, and twice a week the sultan received and answered reports from all parts of the realm. Besides the ordinary mail, there was also a pigeon post, which was no less carefully managed. The pigeons were kept in cofts in the Citadel and at the various stages, which were further apart than those of the horses; the bird was trained to stop at the first post-coth, where its letter would be attached to the wing of another pigeon for the next stage. The royal pigeons had a distinguishing mark, and when one of these arrived at the Citadel with a dispatch, none was permitted to detach the parchment save the sultan himself; and so stringent were the rules, that were he dining or sleeping or in the bath, he would nevertheless at once be informed of the arrival, and would immediately proceed to disencumber the bird of its message. The correspondence conducted by these posts was often very considerable, as may be seen by an example of the business hours of Beybars. He arrived before Tyre one night; a tent was immediately pitched by torchlight, the secretaries, seven in number, were summoned, with the commander-in-chief, and the adjutant general (*Emir 'aḥam*) with the military secretaries were instructed to

draw up orders. For hours they ceased not to write letters and diplomas, to which the sultan affixed his seal; this very night they indited in his presence fifty-six diplomas for high nobles, each with its proper introduction of praise to God.

In addition to necessary business, state ceremonies occupied no inconsiderable part of the sultan's time. The mamlūk court was a minutely organized system, and the choice of officers to fill the numerous posts of the household, and the tact demanded in satisfying their jealousies and disagreements, to say nothing of the constant presentation of ceremonial dresses of honour, the writing of diplomas, and granting of titles and appanages, must have been a tax upon their master. The posts about the royal person were valuable and highly prized, and it needed some diplomacy to arrange the cabinet and household appointments to the satisfaction of everybody. Besides the great officers of state, such as the Viceroy (*Nāib-er-Saltān* or *Wazīr*, Commander-in-Chief (*Aidog-dī-Aidkīr* or *Emīr-dī-Aidkīr*), the Master of the Household (*Ustaddār*), Captain of the Guard (*Rās-Namda*), Armour bearer (*Sulhādār*), Master of the Horse (*Emīr-Akhār*), Cup-bearer (*Sikī*), Taster (*G'ūshakār*), Chamberlain, Equerry, Secretaries, Grooms-in-Waiting, etc., there were many smaller posts, which often commanded great power and influence. The *Emīr-Meflū*, "Lord of the Seat," so called because he enjoyed the privilege of sitting in the sultan's presence, was the superintendent of the court physicians and surgeons; the *G'awdar*, or Master of the Wardrobe, was a high official; the *Emīr-Shikār*, or Grand Huntsman, assisted the king in the chase; the *Emīr-Taher*, or Master of the Halberds, held almost the rank of the Captain of the Guard, and commanded the *Taherdārs*, or Halberdiers, the Gentlemen at Arms of the sultan, ten in number; the *Bashwahdār* carried the sovereign's slippers; the *G'awdar* bore the sultan's polo-stick, a staff of painted wood about four cubits long, with a curved head; the *Zimāndārs* were eunuch guards. The various household departments had also their officers, who were often great

nobles and men of influence in the realm. The *Ut-ladun-er-Sakka* presided over the cookery; the *Tabl-khalak*, or Drumnery, was the department where the royal band was kept, and it was presided over by an officer called the *Emir-'Alam*, or adjutant-general. The sultan's band is stated at one time to have comprised four drums, forty kettle-drums, four hautbois, and twenty trumpets. The permission to have a band was among the most coveted distinctions of mamlūk times, and those lords who were allowed to have a band playing before their gates were styled *Emir-Tabl-khimak*, or Lord of the Drums; they were about thirty in number, and each had command of a body of forty horsemen, with a band of ten drums, two hautbois, and four trumpets, and an appanage of about the value of 20,000 dinars. The practice of employing these ceremonial bands went out with the Ottoman conquest.

Then there was the *Tisht-khimak*, or Vestary where the royal robes, jewels, seals, swords, etc., were kept, and where the clothes were washed; the *Sharab-khimak*, or Buttery, where were stored the liquors, sweetmeats, fruits, cordials, perfumes, and water for the sovereign; and the *Ilavtig-khimak*, or Larder, where the food and vegetables required for the day were prepared. At the time of Ketbugha the daily amount of food prepared here was 20,000 lbs., and under el-Nâsir the daily cost of the larder was from 21,000 to 30,000 dirhems.

It will be seen that court life was complicated even in the fourteenth century, and the state ceremonies of a mamlūk sultan must have involved as much etiquette as any modern levée, and presented a much more splendid spectacle. When the sultan rode abroad in state, to hold a review or to make a progress through his dominions, the composition of his escort was elaborately ordered. Beybars, for example, rode in the centre, dressed in a black silk *galba*, or vest with large sleeves, but without embroidery or gold; on his head was a turban of fine silk, with a pendant hanging between the shoulders; a Bedawi sword swung by his side, and a Dawûdi cuirass was concealed beneath his vest. In front a great lord

carried the *ghashya*, or royal saddle-cloth, emblem of sovereignty, covered with gold and precious stones; and over the sultan's head a prince of the blood or the commander-in-chief bore the state parasol of yellow silk, embroidered with gold and crowned with a golden bird perched upon a golden cupola. The housing of his horse's neck was yellow silk embroidered with gold, and a *sunâst* or cloth of red atlas satin covered the crupper. The royal standard of silk and gold thread was borne aloft, and the troops had their regimental colours of yellow Lahore silk, embroidered with the escutcheons of their leaders. Just before the sultan rode two pages on white horses with rich trappings, their robes were of yellow silk with borders of gold brocade, and a *taffia* of the same: it was their duty to see that the road was sound. A flute-player went before, and a singer followed after, chanting the heroic deeds of former kings, to the accompaniment of a hand-drum; poets sang verses antiphonally, accompanying themselves with the *kemanga* and *muqbil*. Tabardiers carried halberds before and behind the sultan, and the state ponarils were supported by the polo-master (*Gûkindir*) in a scabbard on the left, while another dagger with a buckler was carried on the monarch's right. Close behind him rode the *Gamakdâr*, or mace-bearer, a tall, handsome man, who carried the gold-headed mace aloft, and never withdrew his eyes from the countenance of his master. The great officers of the court followed, with little less pomp. When a halt was called for the night, on long journeys, torches were borne before the sultan, and as he approached the tent, which had gone on in front and been pitched before his arrival, his servants came to meet him with wax candles in stands inlaid with gold, pages and halberdiers surrounded him, the soldiers sang a chorus, and all dismounted except the sultan, who rode into the vestibule of the tent, where he left his horse, and then entered the great round pavilion behind it. Out of this opened a little wooden bedroom warmer than the tent, and a bath with heating materials was at hand. The whole was surrounded by a stockade, and the mamlûks mounted guard

in regular watches, inspected periodically by visiting rounds, with grand rounds twice in the night. The *Emir-Bibdur*, or Grand Doorkeeper, commanded the grand rounds. Servants and eunuchs slept at the door. Joinville describes the sultan's camp at Damietta. It was entered through a tower of fir-poles covered round with coloured stuff, and inside was the tent where the officers left their weapons when they sought audience of the sultan. "Behind this tent was a doorway similar to the first, by which you enter a large tent, which was the sultan's hall. Behind the hall there was a tower like the one in front, through which you entered the sultan's chamber. Behind the sultan's chamber there was an enclosed space, and in the centre of this enclosure a tower, loftier than all the others, from which the sultan looked out over the whole camp and country. From the enclosure a pathway went down to the river, to the spot where the sultan had spread a tent over the water for the purpose of bathing. The whole of this encampment was enclosed within a trellis of wood work and on the outer side the trellises were spread with blue calico, and the four towers were also covered with calico."

The historian Makrizi is fond of telling how the sultan made his progresses, held reviews of his troops, led a charge in battle, or joined in the games at home. The mamluks were ardent votaries of sport and athletic exercises. Nâsir was devoted to the chase, and imported numbers of sunğurs, sâkrs, falcons and hawks, and presented valuable fiefs to his falconers, who rode beside him, hawk on wrist. Beybars was a keen archer, and a skilful hand at making arrows. He erected an archery ground outside the Gate of Victory at Cairo, and here he would stay from noon till sunset, encouraging the emirs in their practice. The pursuit of archery became the chief occupation of the lords of his court. But Beybars, like most of the mamlûks, was catholic in his tastes; he was fond of horse-racing; spent two days in the week at polo; was famous for his management of the lance in the tournaments which formed part of the amusements of the day; and was so good a swimmer that he once swam

across the Nile in his cuirass, dragging after him several great nobles seated on inflated carpets.

Such outward details of the life of the mamlûks may be gathered in Makrizi; but if we seek to know something of the domestic life of the period we must go elsewhere. We find indeed occasionally in the historian an account of the revels of the court on great festivals, and how there were concerts in the citadel, where a torch was gently waved to and fro to keep the time. But to understand the home-life of the mamlûks, we must turn to the *Thousand and One Nights*, where, whatever the origin and scene of the stories, the manners and customs are drawn from the society which the narrators saw about them in Cairo in the days of the mamlûks; and the various articles of luxury that have come down to us, the goblets, incense burners, bowls, and dishes of fine inlaid silver and gold, confirm the fidelity of the picture. With all their prayers and fasts and tedious ritual, the Muslims of the Middle Ages contrived to amuse themselves. Even in their religion they found opportunities for enjoyment. They made the most of the festivals of the faith, and put on their best clothes; they made up parties—to visit the tombs, indeed—but to visit them right merrily on the backs of their asses, and they let their servants go out and amuse themselves too in the gaily illuminated streets, hung with silk and satin, and thronged with dancers, jugglers, and revellers, fantastic figures, Karâkûsh (the oriental Punch), and the Chinese Shadows.

The poet Bahâ-ed-dîn Zuheyr, the secretary of Sâlih, who survived his master and died in 1258 gives a vivid picture in his verses of the joyous society of early mamlûk times, from which it is evident that there was no very strict observance of the Muslim rule of temperance among the gay courtiers. The wine-cup is as prominent in Zuheyr's poems as in 'Omar Khayyâm's. Many of the mamlûk sultans are described as being addicted to wine, and the great lord Beysari was at one time stated to be incapable of taking part in affairs, because he was entirely given over to drink and hazard. Yet there are

redeeming points in this softness. The Muslims of the days of good Hārūn, and not less of the other "golden prime" of Beybars and Barkak, did not take their wine moodily or in solitude. They loved to have a jovial company round them, and plenty of flowers and sweet scents on the board; they perfumed their beards with civet, and sprinkled their beautiful robes with rose-water, while ambergris and frankincense burned in the censers we still possess, diffused a delicious fragrance through the room. Nor was the feast complete without music and the voices of singing women, and the scene of their revels was often a palace such as Kubla Khan might have pictured in his dreams. We can scarcely realize now the stately pleasure domes which the mamlūks once decreed; how they hung them with rich stuffs, and strewed them with costly carpets, what wealth of carving and ivory-work embellished their doors and ceilings, how delicately inlaid were their drinking and washing vessels, how softly rich the colouring of their stained windows. In this flowering time of Saracenic art, a real interest belongs to the life and social condition of the people who made and encouraged the finest productions of the oriental artist. History can show few more startling contrasts than that offered by the spectacle of a band of disorderly soldiers—a standing army of foreigners, rarely intermarrying with the natives, a class absolutely apart—to all appearance barbarians, prone to shed blood, merciless to their enemies, tyrannous to their subjects, yet delighting in the delicate refinements which art could afford them in their home life, lavish in the endowment of pious foundations, magnificent in their mosques and palaces, and fastidious in the smallest details of dress and furniture. Allowing all that must be allowed for the passion of the barbarian for display, we are still far from an explanation how the Turks chanced to be the noblest promoters of art, of literature, and of public works, that Egypt had known since the days of the Ptolemies.

During this brilliant period the population of Egypt was sharply divided into two classes, who had little in

common with each other. One was that of the mamlûks, or military oligarchy, the other the mass of the Egyptians. The latter were useful for cultivating the land, paying the taxes which supported the mamlûks, and manufacturing their robes; but beyond these functions, and that of supplying the judicial and religious posts of the empire, they had small part in the business of the state and appear to have been very seldom incorporated into the ranks of their foreign masters. The names¹ of the mamlûks that have descended to us in the accurate and detailed pages of Makrizi are generally Turkish, and even when they are ordinary Arabic names, they were borne by Turks who had put on an Arabic name along with the speech, dress, and country of their adoption. In the glories, military and ceremonial, of the mamlûks the people had no part. They were indeed thankful when a mild sovereign, like Lâghî, ascended the throne, and when taxes were reduced and baklishish distributed, and they would join, like all mobs, in the decoration of the streets and public rejoicings when the sultan came back

¹ It will be useful here to explain the system of mamlûk names and titles. Every mamlûk had (1) a proper name, such as Ishtughlâ, Lâghî, Beybars, Kalâ'ûn generally of Turkish derivation. (2) a war name or honourable epithet, an *Husnâ el-dîn*, "sword blade of the Faith," *Nûr ed-dîn*, "Light of the Faith," *Nâsîr ed-dîn* "succourer of the Faith." (3) generally a pseudo-patronymic, as *Abû el-Feth*, "Father of Victory," *Abû el-Nâsîr*, "Father of Succour". (4) if a sultan, an epithet affixed to the title of sultan or king, as *el-Melik es-Sa'îd*, "The Fortunate King," *el-Melik en-Nâsîr*, "The Succouring King," *el-Melik el-Mansûr*, "The Victorious King"; (5) a title of possession, implying by its relative termination *el* that the subject has been owned as a slave (or has been employed as an officer or reamer) by some sultan or lord, as *el-Asraf*, "The slave or mamlûk of the sultan *el-Asraf*," *el-Mansûr*, "The mamlûk of the sultan *el-Mansûr*." The order of these titles was as follows: first, the royal title, then the honourable surname, third, the patronymic, fourth the proper name, and last the possessive, as *es-Sultan el-Melik el-Mansûr Hâdî-ed-dîn Abû el-Feth Lâghî el-Mansûr*, "The Sultan, Victorious King, Sword Blade of the Faith, Father of Victory, Lâghî, mamlûk of the Sultan *El-Mansûr*." It is usual, in abbreviating these numerous names, to style a sultan by his title, *el-Mansûr* etc., or by his proper name, *Lâghî* etc., omitting the rest, while a noble (*amîr*) is conventionally denoted by his proper name alone.

from a career of conquest, or recovered from an illness; but they had no voice in the government of the country, and must make the best they might of the uncertain characters of their ever-changing rulers.

The following list shows the names and order of succession of the twenty-five sultans of the Bahri dynasty, few of whom call for detailed biography:—

| | A.D. |
|---|-------|
| Queen Shajar-ed-durr ¹ | 1250 |
| el-Ma'mun 'Izz-ed-din Aylbek ¹ | 1250 |
| el-Manṣūr Nūr-ed-din 'Alī b. Aylbek | 1257 |
| el-Muzaḥḥar Sayf-ed-din Kutuz ¹ | 1259 |
| eṣ-Ṣa'īd Rukn-ed-din Beybars ¹ | 1260 |
| eṣ-Ṣa'īd Nāṣir-ed-din Baraka Khān b. Beybars | 1277 |
| el-Adil Bedr-ed-din Selāmish b. Beybars | 1279 |
| el-Manṣūr Sayf-ed-din Kalā'ūn | 1279 |
| el-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ-ed-din Khālil b. Kalā'ūn ² | 1290 |
| en-Nāṣir Nāṣir-ed-din Mohamḥad b. Kalā'ūn | 1293 |
| el-Adil Zayn-ed-din Kitbughā ² | 1294 |
| el-Manṣūr Husām-ed-din Lāḡīn ² | 1296 |
| en-Nāṣir, second reign | 1298 |
| el-Muzaḥḥar Rukn-ed-din Beybars II ² | 1308 |
| en-Nāṣir, third reign | 1309 |
| el-Manṣūr Sayf-ed-din Abū-Bekr b. Nāṣir | 1341 |
| el-Ashraf 'Alā-ed-din Kūḡūḡ b. Nāṣir | 1341 |
| en-Nāṣir Shubāl-ed-din Aḥmad b. Nāṣir | 1342 |
| eṣ-Ṣalīḡ 'Imād-ed-din Ismā'īl b. Nāṣir | 1342 |
| el-Kāmil Sayf-ed-din Sha'bān b. Nāṣir | 1345 |
| el-Muzaḥḥar Sayf-ed-din Hāḡḡī b. Nāṣir | 1346 |
| en-Nāṣir Nāṣir-ed-din Ḥasan b. Nāṣir | 1347 |
| eṣ-Ṣalīḡ Ṣalāḡ-ed-din Ṣalīḡ b. Nāṣir | 1351 |
| en-Nāṣir Ḥasan, second reign | 1354 |
| el-Manṣūr Ṣalāḡ-ed-din Mohamḥad b. Hāḡḡī | 1361 |
| el-Ashraf Nāṣir-ed-din Sha'bān b. Ḥoseyn b. Nāṣir | 1363 |
| el-Manṣūr 'Alā-ed-din 'Alī b. Sha'bān | 1376 |
| eṣ-Ṣalīḡ Ṣalāḡ-ed-din Hāḡḡī b. Sha'bān | 1381 |
| [Barḡūḡ, Burḡī mamlūk | 1382 |
| Hāḡḡī, second reign, with title el-Manṣūr | 1389 |
| | —1390 |

¹²³⁰ May After the murder of Tūrānshāh it was inevitable that the mamlūks should seize the throne of Egypt, yet

¹ Original Bahri mamlūks of Ṣalīḡ Ayyūb.

² Mamlūks of Kalā'ūn. It will be observed that from 1290 all the sultans were descendants of Kalā'ūn, except those who were his mamlūks.

they showed their respect for the late dynasty as well as ¹²⁵⁰gratitude for her ^{May}former statesman-

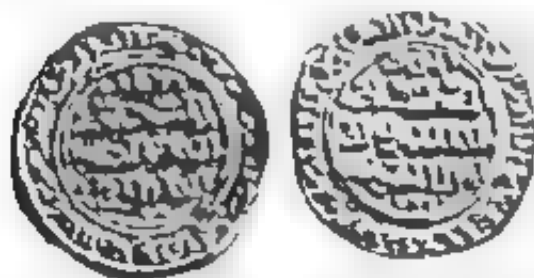


Fig. 36 — Dinar of queen Sheger-ed-durr, Cairo, 1250.

ship by electing Ṣāliḥ's widow, Sheger-ed-durr, as their queen—almost the only queen who has ruled a Moham-madan country be-fore the present Empress of India.

Sheger-ed-durr combined the qualification of a mam ukā and comrade of the Bahris with that of marriage with the Ayyūbid sultan, to whom she had born a son. The son, Khalil, died in infancy, but how insistently she based her right to sovereignty upon her motherhood of a prince of the royal line is proved by her official signature on all state documents, she styled herself merely Umm-Khalil (or Wālidat-Khalil), "the mother of Khalil." The prayers were recited in her name, and coins were struck with the feminine titles "el Musta'ṣimiya, ex-Ṣālihiya, Menkat-el-Muslimin, Wālidat el-Melik el-Manṣūr Khalil-Amir-el-Murminin," which signify "the [former] slave of [the caliph] Musta'ṣim [and afterwards] of Ṣāliḥ; queen of the Muslims, mother of el-Melik el-Manṣūr Khalil [friend] of the Commander of the Faithful."¹ The first act of the new sultan was to

¹ The only coin known of Sheger-ed durr is in the British Museum (Lane-Poole, *Catalogue*, iv. p. 136), and bears these titles, together with those of the contemporary 'Abūmaid ṣaḥḥ Muzāḥim, and the date, Cairo, A.H. 648 (which began 5 April, 1250). The titles are the same as those given in Makrizi. The coin is the sole numismatic record of her reign, which lasted less than three months, and is the only known coin of a Muslim queen, except Rūṣiya of Delhi, Abish of Fars, and Nūr-shāh on the Mogul emperor Jahangir's coinage. The queen's surname or *lakab* was 'Asmat-ed-dīn, "Defender of the Faith," and her royal style was sultān: there is no such feminine form as "sultana" in Arabic. The generic name Sheger-ed-durr, so written by Abū-l Fida and other historians, is often altered to the noun of unity Shegeret-ed-durr by Makrizi and later writers.

confirm the previous treaty with king Louis, and despatch him and his army safely out of the country. It is at least highly probable that partly to her the Crusaders owed their lives; since in the excitement after the murder of Tūrānshāh, and again when they were drunk with the re-occupation of Damietta, the mamluks were in two minds whether to massacre the Christians or not. The ransom probably turned the scale. Louis's queen, who had been at Damietta, paid the first half of the 800,000 besants, and the king lost no time in leaving the coast.

The anomaly of a Muslīma queen was too repugnant to Mohammadan ideas to last. The blessed Prophet had said, 'the people that make a woman their ruler are past saving,' and the caliph of Baghdad, far from being conciliated by the apparent fact that the new sultan of Egypt had once been in his harem, wrote to the Egyptian leaders that "if they had no *imam* among them, he would send them one." The hint was taken, and 'Izz-ed-dīn Aybek, one of the leading Bahris and then *atibeg-el-asākir*, or commander-in-chief, was chosen by the emirs to be the husband of Shēger-ed-durr and sultan of Egypt, with the title of *e.-Melik el-Mo'izz*.'

1250
July
31

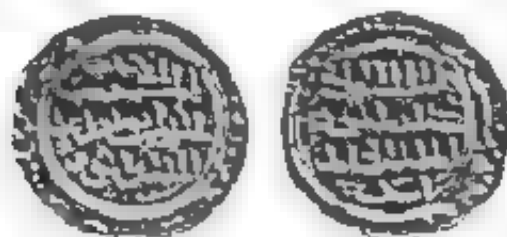


Fig. 57.—Dīnār of Aybek, Alexandria, 1256.

A further precaution was observed in view of the hostility of the Ayyūbids in Syria. The descendants of Saladin were not disposed to let Egypt pass from their possession without an effort to preserve it to the family, and en-Naṣir of Aleppo,

Saladin's great-grandson, had already seized Damascus (which then belonged to Egypt) as a step towards a march

* Aybek's rare coins are from old dies of *es-Sālih Ayyūb*, with the addition of the name Aybek (no title), and with the dates Cairo, 651 and 652 (1253, 1254). No coins bear the joint names of Aybek and *el-Ashraf Mūsā*.

upon the Nile. In order to deprive him of a pretext, the mamlûks set up a joint-king, to reign with Aybek, in the ¹²²² Aug. 2 person of el-Ashraf Mūsā, a child of six, great-grandson of el-Kāmil.¹ But the real power still rested in the queen's hands; she controlled the finances, refused to inform Aybek where the treasure of the late sultan Šālih was deposited, and kept her husband in strict subordination. His real function was to fight the queen's enemies, whilst she managed the internal affairs of state, always, however, in the names of the joint kings, and with the assistance of a military oligarchy composed of the leading mamlûks, of whom Āḡṭāi, Beybars, and Balbāṣ were the most prominent and held the chief official posts.

Aybek had two dangers to guard against, one was invasion by the legitimist Ayyūbids of Syria, the other, conspiracy among his brother mamlûks and Arab subjects—the risk of trouble from the native Egyptians might be neglected. The most pressing peril was from the legitimists. Already a portion of the mamlûk army at ^{Aug.} Šālihîya near the Syrian frontier had proclaimed a rival king in el-Mughith 'Omar, a son of 'Adil II and grandson of Kāmil, a candidate with a good title to the throne,—so good, indeed, that his uncle Šālih had kept him a close prisoner at Shawbek (Montreal). Thence he had only just been released by his opportunist gaoler, and had immediately occupied the strong fortress of Karak. Aybek's reply to this competition was to throw Egypt under the protection of the caliph of Baghdad, by proclaiming it a province of the 'Abbāsid caliphate and himself as the caliph's viceroy. Having thus set up another legitimist title, far older than that of the Ayyūbids, Aybek turned to measures of war. He first sent Āḡṭāi, the commander of the Bahri mamlûks, to relieve Gaza, which the Syrians were besieging, and meanwhile he exerted himself to convince the people of Egypt of his respect for the late dynasty. The body of

¹ Mūsā was the son of en-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the son of el-Mu'izz Yūsuf (Kāmil's son) who ruled the Yemen from 1215 to 1228.

Salih Ayyūb was removed from the castle of Rūla, where it had been hurriedly concealed by Sheġer-ed-durr, and was accorded a magnificent funeral in the tomb-mosque (still existing) which she had built for it in the Beyn-el-Kaareyn : Aybek and Asarāf, the joint-kings, and the officers of state attended in great pomp ; all the mamlūks were dressed as mourners in white and cut off their hair ; the tomb was reverently covered with banners, and the bow and quiver of the late sultan were laid upon it. The people were also encouraged to believe that the Ayyūbid opposition was divided, that Muġliṯh of Karak had become the ally of Aybek, and all sorts of false rumours were put about.

Nevertheless everybody predicted the triumph of the old dynasty, and when Nāṣir of Damascus arrived on the frontier, the people of Cairo were confident in his success and prepared a welcome. Aybek and Aṣṭāf, with a large army of mamlūks and Arabs of Upper Egypt, met the legitimist caravan near 'Abbāsa, and an obstinate battle ensued. The Egyptian Arabs, routed at the first onslaught, fled to their homes, announcing on their way the defeat of Aybek. Cairo at once ranged itself on the side of the supposed victor ; Nāṣir's name was honoured next day in the Friday prayers, and preparations were made for his entertainment. The battle, however, was not over when the Arabs fled ; the Egyptian right drove in the Syrian left ; the centres were evenly balanced, and the issue wavered. At last, the desertion of Nāṣir's mamlūks to their comrades of the other side turned the scales, and the remnant of the Syrian army fled to Damascus, abandoning camp and baggage and losing many killed and prisoners. Among the latter, who greeted Aybek's triumphant entry into Cairo, was ḡ-sāḡ Ismā'il, the former lord of Damascus (see p. 219), and several other princes of Saladin's blood. Ismā'il was paraded before the tomb of his old rival, Ṣāliḡ Ayyūb, and strangled in the Citadel as an inveterate enemy of Egypt.

Encouraged by this victory, Aybek sent Aṣṭāf to recover Gaza and Palestine, and took the opportunity of

increased prestige to depose his nominal partner, the child Ashraf, and send him away to Constantinople (1254). Meanwhile the caliph intervened to promote a peaceful understanding between his contending subjects of Syria and Egypt. His motive was evident: the Mongol invasion was already touching his frontiers the barbarians were in Diyar-Bekr, and it was imperative to sink all minor differences and present a united front to the enemies of Islam. Peace was arranged by ambassadors from Baghdad on the basis that Egypt should hold Palestine west of the Jordan, including Jerusalem and the Muslim part of the coast. The treaty was renewed in 1276, when Nāṣir abandoned his protection of Egyptian malcontents, and Aybek had no further trouble from the legitimists.¹

The danger from the intrigues of his own household was more difficult to guard against than the open attacks of the enemy. Aḳṣai, who was the most distinguished of the mamlūk generals and had not only completed the discomfiture of Louis IX. but repeatedly beaten the Syrians, was a serious rival to Aybek. The Bahri mamlūks would obey no other leader, and with Aḳṣai's connivance this truculent soldiery became a terror to the inhabitants, they indulged their licence in atrocious acts of violence, pillaged innocent houses, and raided the public baths for women. The very Franks, says Makrizi, could not have done worse. To add to the general anarchy, the Arabs of the Sūd broke into revolt with the cry of "Egypt for the Arabs," not the Turks, and this race movement became so popular that the Arabs were able to muster some 12,000 horse and a multitude of foot soldiers. They were met near the apex of the delta by Aḳṣai with only 5000 of his trusty mamlūks, but his usual skill and their courage once more brought victory. A campaign in the north quickly reduced the Arabs of the delta who had caught the spirit of revolt, and Aybek treacherously entrapped their leader

¹ The Egyptian frontier, according to Abū-l-Fidā, was then fixed near el 'Arish, as it is to day.

and many of his followers, and punished the tribes by increased taxation. The result was their ruin. The Arabs of Egypt had been rich and owned many horses and large herds: henceforward, says the historian in the fifteenth century, they were reduced to the state in which they now decline.

This latest triumph made *Āḳṣā* more insupportable than ever; and Aybek resolved to get rid of him. The general was trapped in the citadel of Cairo, and his head was thrown to his escort standing below the walls. Many Bahri mamluks, appalled at this sudden blow, fled the country, and some who stayed behind were arrested. For the moment Aybek had saved his throne. The exiled mamluks, however, remained a perpetual menace: they raided Palestine, sought to stir up Nāṣir at Damascus, and when he was induced by the caliph to dismiss them, they joined Maghribī at Karak and hovered on the borders of Egypt. Aybek spent the best part of three years in camp on the frontier, guarding against their attack. He was now bent on legitimizing his title, and sent an embassy to the caliph at Baghdad to request the robes of honour and usual insignia of investiture. At the same time he proposed to marry a daughter of Luḥu, the prince of Mosul. This produced a final rupture with his wife, Shag̃er-ed-durr, who, although she lived on the worst terms with her husband, was intensely jealous of sharing him with other women. She had already made him divorce a former wife, and she would not tolerate a fresh marriage, especially to a princess of rank. Aybek had been told by the court astrologer that he would die of a woman's plot, and he was privately warned that the queen was meditating his removal. He seems to have entertained corresponding designs on his own part, but she anticipated them. Inviting him to the Citadel with every assurance of sincerity, she had him murdered in his bath. When it was done, she tried to pass it off as a natural death, but the mamluks soon extracted the truth from tortured slaves. In vain the queen offered the throne to several nobles; none dare to accept so perilous a gift. The mamluks would have killed her in their

ury, but the old ties of comradeship secured her the protection of the Bahris, who had moreover no cause to love Aybek. She was shut up in the Red Tower, and foreseeing her doom the heroic lady devoted her last hours to pounding her jewels in a mortar, that no other woman should wear them. Three days later she was dragged before the wife whom she had compelled Aybek to divorce, and in her rival's presence queen Sheger-ed-durr was battered to death by the wooden clogs of the women slaves. They threw her half-naked body into the citadel ditch, where it lay several days to be devoured by dogs, until at last some one buried it. Her tomb still stands near the chapel of Sitta Nefisa, and some pious modern hand has covered it with a cloth embroidered with her name. Her end was like Jezebel's: yet she had saved Egypt.

Aybek's son (by the divorced wife) was set upon the vacant throne by the choice of the mamluks, but the lad of fifteen, who spent his time in the frivolous amusements of cock-fighting and donkey-rides, was only a make-shift to avoid a struggle between the jealous emirs. El-Melik el-Manqûr 'Alî,¹ as he was styled, was no sovereign for the crisis at hand, and in Nov., 1250, he was deposed by the regent, Kutuz (formerly Aybek's deputy or *nâib-el-Sultânâ*) who ascended the throne with the title of el-Melik al-Muṣaffar.² As he observed to his followers, this was no time for boy puppets, "we want a fighting king." The danger now was not from the legitimists, for Kutuz had completely routed the Ayyâbid el-Mughith of Karak when he attempted with the support of the exiled Bahris to conquer Egypt. A far greater peril threatened the whole Mohammaran east in the advance of the Mongols under Hûlâgû, who took Baghdâd and murdered the caliph in Feb., 1258, conquered all Syria in 1260, and pushed on to Gaza,

¹ A gold coin of el-Manqûr Nûr-ed-dîn 'Alî bears the date Cairo, 656 (1258).

² A gold coin of el-Muṣaffar Sayf-ed-dîn Kutuz has the date 658 (1259-60), but the mint is effaced, and a silver coin has the mint Damascus, but the year effaced.

harrying and destroying everything in their way. Hülgü sent an embassy to the sultan of Egypt, bearing a letter full of menace and requiring his abject submission. Kutuz replied by executing the ambassadors and hanging up their heads at the gate Zawia. He would have no parleying with the enemy, lest some of the fainter-hearted emirs should be won over. As it was, he had to administer a stern reproof to them before he could lead a united and determined army to the frontier. Murmurs were stilled, and courage raised, when Beybars with the vanguard drove the Mongol garrison out of Gaza, and the whole army of Egypt marched north along the coast, secured the neutrality of the Franks of 'Akka, and then went to encounter the barbarians. They found them near ^{10th} ^{July} Beysun at Goliath's Spring ('Ayn G'āūd—a famous site in Crusading warfare), and the tremendous shock of the Mongol charge shattered the Egyptian militia. But the headlong flight led to victory, for the Mongols, dispersed in pursuit, lost formation, and were easily cut off by the steady attack of the unshaken mamluks. The Mongol general, Ketbughā, fell, and his army was soon ^{Sept. 6} in full retreat, joined by the garrison of Damascus, where the Muslims immediately rose and slew its Christian population, who had triumphed prematurely over the downfall of Islām. Kutuz restored order throughout the devastated cities, replaced the Ayyūbid princes as tributaries in their old seats at Hims and Hamah, and the public prayers were recited in his name as far as Aleppo and the Euphrates. As he was returning in triumph from the brilliant campaign which had rescued Egypt and recovered Syria, he fell a victim to the jealousies which are the inevitable bane of a military dictatorship. Beybars, the ablest of his generals, balked of his desire for the government of Aleppo, ^{Oct. 24} conspired with other nobles, and Kutuz was assassinated whilst returning from the chase within the Egyptian frontier. The chief regicide was elected sultan on the spot. Beybars—or es-Sultān el Melik es-Zāhir¹ Rukn-ed-

¹ "The Ascendant King, prop of church and state, Beybars (mamlūk) of the Arbāsteer (and) of es-Sulūb." He first chose the title el-

dunyâ-wa-dîn Beybars el-Bunduqdârî eş-Sâhibî—was the real founder of the mamlik empire. His predecessors

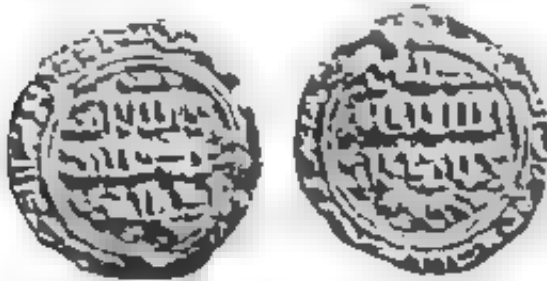


Fig 38 —Dinâr of Beybars, Alexandria, 1261.

had barely and briefly held their power against rivals, revolts, and foreign foes: Beybars made himself supreme over all. He was a native of Kipchak, between the Caspian and the Ural Mountains,—a tall ruddy

fellow, with blue eyes, one of which was disfigured by a cataract: hence he only fetched about £20 in the slave market. He had belonged to the emir Aydekin el-Bunduqdâr, "the arbale-steer," whence his epithet el-Bunduqdârî, which Marco Polo wrote "Bendocquedar." Afterwards he passed into the service of Sâlih Ayyub, and became one of the most conspicuous of the Sâlihi or Bahri mamliks, especially distinguishing himself at the battle of Mansûra. He was the first great mamlik sultan, and the right man to lay the foundations of the empire. "Bondogar," says William of Tripolis, "as a soldier was not inferior to Julius Caesar, nor in malignity to Nero", but he allows that the sultan was "sober, chaste, just to his own people, and even kind to his Christian subjects." So well did he organize his wide-stretching provinces that no incapacity or disunion among his successors could pull down the fabric he had

raised, but this was found to possess unlucky precedents, and was changed for eş-Zahir, "the Ascendant." After re-establishing the 'Abbasid caliphate at Cairo he added the title Kasim-Amir-i-mumminin, "partner of the Commander of the Faithful." His coinage (like most of the mamlik currency) is frequently so rubbed as to be illegible, but there are dated coins of Cairo, 664, 665, 666, and 667 (1265-9); Alexandria, 659, 661, 664, 667 (1260-9); and Damascus and Hama, with uncertain dates. His coins bear his badge, a lion passant—a notable innovation in the Egyptian type of currency. The name is usually written Beybars, but on the coins the y is not inserted, and the name would appear to be Bibars, as Quatremere spells it.

raised, until the wave of Ottoman conquest swept at last upon Egypt and Syria. To him is due the organization of the mamlūk army, the rebuilding of a navy, the allotment of fiefs to the lords and soldiers, the building of causeways and bridges, and digging of canals in various parts of Egypt. He strengthened the fortresses of Syria and garrisoned them with mamluks; he connected Damascus and Cairo by a postal service of four days, and used to play polo in both cities within the same week. His mosque still stands without the north gates, and his college once stood—only an angle remains—in the Reyn-e Kāreyn. He founded an endowment for the burial of poor Muslims. In many respects he was a great ruler, and his qualities must have been remarkable to have raised him from the level of a one-eyed slave to be the consolidator of an empire that lasted for 250 years.

1270 Oct. Beybars was determined to be a second Saadin, to revive the power and prestige of the Egyptian empire,



Fig 59.—Lion of Beybars on the door of mosque-door, 1268.

and to wage war against the "infidels" who still lingered on the Mediterranean coast. Syria had indeed been recovered by his predecessor,—and Beybars was careful to confirm his local appointments and conciliate the governors,—but it was held on a precarious tenure. A rival proclaimed himself king at Damascus, and though suppressed (Jan. 1261) his ambition was significant. The first object of the new sultan was to keep

- ① the Mongols—who now formed an established dynasty known as the Ilkhāns of Persia or Hulaguids—on the further side of the Euphrates; the second object was to punish the Crusader states which had made common cause with the barbarians against the remnant of the once extensive caliphate. In order to emphasize his position as the pre-eminent sultan of Islām, he not only spent largely upon mosques and pious endowments, but invited an exiled representative of the extinguished 'Abbāsīd caliphate to come to Cairo, where he enthroned

him with splendid pomp as the rightful pontiff of Islām, ¹²⁶¹ with the title of Mustansir, and received from him the ^{June} gold-embroidered black turban, the purple robe, and the gold chain and armbands which denoted the duly appointed and spiritually recognized sovereign of the caliph's realm.

Having thus acquired the title to act as the head of the Muslims, Beybars set about consolidating his power by alliances with foreign princes. By a fortunate coincidence Baraka, the khan of the Golden Horde, or Mongols of Kipchak, who pastured in the valley of the Volga had embraced Islām, and was in deadly rivalry with his kinsman the Ilkhans of Persia. Embassies were exchanged (1261-3) between Baraka and Beybars, accompanied by valuable presents, and the two became allies against Persia.² Baraka's name was even prayed for

¹ A first Beybars seems to have contemplated the restoration of the caliphate at Baghdad, and furnished the caliph with an army and a splendid retinue for the purpose, but when the actual advance upon Mesopotamia began, his aims were excited lest a restored caliph might prove hostile to himself, and he left the unlucky Mustansir almost unsupported to make the attempt, in which he signally lost his life. Another Abbāsid caliph was then set up at Cairo (1262) with the title of al-Hakim; but there was no more talk of reconquering Bagdad, and thereafter the career of Egyptian sultans of Abbāsid lineage were restricted to such spiritual functions as the ritual of the mosque afforded. They formed, however, the technical centre of Islam, and served to connect the old caliphate of Bagdad with the modern sultans of Turkey, to whom they transmitted such rights as they were able to bestow. The succession of the Abbāsid caliphs of Egypt may here be noted.—al-Mustansir 1261, al-Hakim I 1262, al-Mutashil I 1262, al-Walsh I 1269, al-Hakim II 1269, al-Mutashil I 1272, al-Mutawakkil I 1272, al-Mutashil 1277, al-Mutawakkil restored 1277, al-Walsh II 1283, al-Mutashil restored 1286, al-Mutawakkil, third time, 1289, al-Mutashil 1295 (to Jan 1292), al-Mutashil II 1293, al-Mutashil II 1299, al-Hakim 1299, al-Mutawakkil 1299, al-Mutawakkil II 1299, al-Mutawakkil restored 1299, al-Mutawakkil III restored 1299, to assumption of caliphate by Ottoman Sultan 1299.

² Detailed accounts of the Egyptian embassy in 1263 to the khan of the Golden Horde are given by Ibn al-Firāt and al-Nunayri, translated in Quatremère's *Mémoires* I. 213, note. The envoys went to Constantinople en route to the Crimea, and thence to the Volga, where they found the camp of Baraka. Ambassadors from Ilkhan reached Cairo in 1263.

next to the sultan's on Fridays in the mosques of Cairo, Jerusalem, Mekka and Medina, and his daughter became the wife of Beybars. The sultan's envoys went to the khan by way of Constantinople, where a friendly understanding had already been established with the emperor Michael Palaeologus, who was naturally disposed to side with anybody who was the sworn foe of Latin Christianity, as represented by the Crusaders, from whose violence and misrule the East Roman empire had suffered for half a century. Beybars at the emperor's request had supplied a Melekite patriarch for Constantinople, now at last reclaimed to the orthodox church; and in return Michael had authorized the restoration of the old mosque which had existed in his capital for centuries until destroyed by the Latins. Another embassy from Cairo waited upon Manfred, king of Sicily and Tuscany, who, as the son of Frederick II. and the enemy of the papacy, welcomed the envoys, though he had no assistance to give. Commercial treaties, moreover, were signed between the sultan of Egypt and James of Aragon, and afterwards (1271-2) with Alfonso of Seville. Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., sent a mission to Cairo in 1264. An ally was also found in Kay-Khusru, one of the struggling Seljuk princes of Asia Minor, then falling under Mongol sway. All these engagements display Beybars in the character of a prudent and far-sighted statesman; but it was the alliance with the powerful khān of the Golden Horde that preserved the Muslim empire from serious invasion by the Mongols of Persia. They did indeed repeatedly attack Bira, at the passage of the Euphrates, and pushed a raid into Syria as far as Apamea; but Beybars wisely laid the northern districts waste, that the invaders should find no food or fodder, and thenceforward, though a perpetual menace, the Mongol armies effected no important successes during his reign.

There were, however, sympathizers with the Mongols along the Syrian coast who had to be dealt with. The Franks, especially Boemond VI. prince of Antioch and Tripoli, finding them disposed to favour Christianity at

the expense of Islam, were supporters of the Ilkhāna. Consequently they were special objects of Beybars's attack. For ten years, 1261 to 1271—he waged almost annual campaigns against the Crusader states. At first these were merely raids into the territory of Antioch, Cilicia, and the district of 'Akka, accompanied by much cruelty and devastation, or enlivened by great battles of game. Amongst others, the church of Nazareth was destroyed. In 1265, however, he began a series of conquests. In that year Caesarea and Arsūf were taken and razed to the ground, lest they should again become strongholds of the "infidels." By a refinement of insult the Christian defenders of the conquered fortresses were compelled to help in their dismantling, and then led with broken crosses round their necks, and banners reversed, to grace the victor's triumphal entry into Cairo. Dervishes and fakirs, seconded by religious women, had encouraged and inflamed the zeal of the Muslim troops and worked at the trenches; and Beybars himself toiled like a navvy at the demolition of the fortifications. In 1266 the troops were again called out from their homes; and after piously visiting Jerusalem and Hebron and distributing alms, the Sultan seized 'Akka, raided the Christian lands about 'Akka, Tyre, and Sidon, and won Safed, after three attempts to storm it, from the Templars, who were nearly all slain. Unlike the coast towns, Safed was now garrisoned and its fortifications strengthened. In all this Beybars took a personal share, encouraging the men by taking the post of danger, helping in the labour of bringing up the siege train, and displaying unwonted solicitude for the sick and wounded, providing hospital tents, physicians and surgeons. At the same time he severely repressed disorder and pilage in Muslim territory forbade wine to be used in camp, and set the noses of officers who indulged in private looting or damage to the crops. In the autumn he again overran the dominions of the king of Little Armenia (Cilicia) as far as Tarsus, and Haithon purchased peace by the surrender of Derbesäk and the country east of the Geyhūn river. Jaffa was captured in 1264, and

razed to the foundations :¹ its fine marbles were used to decorate the mosques of Cairo. Sheikf Arnân (Belfort) surrendered in April, and the crowning triumph of the campaign was the storming of Antioch, the head-quarters of Christianity in northern Syria. The noble city was burnt to the ground.

Beybars took the occasion of the conquest of Antioch to write to its prince, Boemond VI, one of those boastful and sarcastic letters for which he was famous. Addressing him as "count," since he had now lost his principedom, he reminds him that he has been "looking on like a man in a mortal swoon" whilst piece after piece of his dominions has been taken from him. Then the conqueror describes the campaign which ended in the storming of Boemond's capital, sparing him no details: "Hadst thou but seen," he wrote, "thy knights trodden under the hoofs of the horses! thy palaces invaded by plunderers and ransacked for booty! thy treasures weighed out by the hundredweight! thy ladies bought and sold with thine own gear, at four for a dinâr! hadst thou but seen thy churches demolished, thy crosses sawn in murther, thy garbled gospels hawked about before the sun; the tombs of thy nobles cast to the ground; the monk, the priest, the deacon slaughtered on the altar; the rich abased to misery, princes of royal blood reduced to slavery! couldst thou but have seen the flames devouring thy halls; thy dead cast into the fires temporal, with the fires eternal hard at hand; the churches of Paul and of Cosmas rocking and going down!—then would'st thou have said, 'Would God that I were dust!' This letter holds happy tidings for thee: it tells thee that God watches over thee to prolong thy days, inasmuch as in these latter days thou wert not in Antioch." Hadst thou been there, now wouldst thou be slain or a prisoner, wounded or disabled. A live man rejoiceth in his safety when he looketh on a field of

¹ There had been a treaty between John of Ibelin, count of Jafa, and the Ayyûnid sultan, en Nâsir, of Damascus, which Peybars confirmed in a personal interview with John in 1261. The death of John of Ibelin, however, terminated the agreement.

slain . . . As not a man hath escaped to tell thee the tale, we tell it thee; as no soul could apprise thee that thou art safe, while all the rest have perished, we apprise thee."¹

This loss so dispirited the Franks that they asked for peace, and Beybars himself accompanied his own ambassadors into Tripolis, disguised as a groom, in order to spy out the place with a view to a future siege. The Franks of 'Akka also opened peace negotiations, which fell through. A raid upon the country near Tyre and 'Akka in 1269 was followed by a more vigorous campaign in 1271, when the great castle of Crac des Chevaliers (Him-el-Akrâd) was surrendered by the Hospitallers; Tortosa and Markab won a truce by a sacrifice of territory; Akkâr capitulated, and the Teutonic knights were unable to defend the fortress of Montfort (el-Kureyn). "Our yellow flag hath overcome thy red," wrote Beybars again to Boemond, "and thy bells are silenced by Allâhu Akbar," the call to prayer. After further hostilities Tyre made terms by dividing its territory with Egypt; and Hugh III of Cyprus, styling himself king of Jerusalem, succeeded in obtaining a treaty of peace for 'Akka and Cyprus for ten years, ten months, and ten days. This arrangement was partly due to the arrival of reinforcements from England, under prince Edward Plantagenet, in May 1271, who inspired the 'Akkans to renewed courage and even secured a couple of small successes; and partly to the threatening movements of the Mongols, who made incursions into northern Syria in 1271 and 1272. The Egyptian fleet, moreover, had been disastrously wrecked at Limasol in an attempt to conquer Cyprus—the main support of Boemond—and Beybars was busy repairing the injury by the rapid construction of fresh vessels. On the death of Boemond in 1273, peace was renewed with his successor, who agreed to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 *D*.

The Franks were now harmless, and before this another

¹ The letter is printed in Arabic (from Neweyri) and French in Quatremere, *Manuscrits*, L, ii. 290-4. in German in Wed. iv. 63-7, and the spurious English version is by Sir H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. 25.

danger had been removed by the submission of the "Assassins." These fanatics of the Isma'īliān sect, secure in their nine rocky fortresses among the Anāṭriya mountains between Markab and Ḥimāh, had been the terror of Syria since the beginning of the twelfth century, and their *ḥakims* or emissaries had carried out the lethal orders of their sheykh in many a secret murder. Saladin had vainly attempted to suppress them, and since his failure they had been courted by many Christian powers and were under the special protection of the Knights Hospitallers. In 1267, however, by a treaty with the knights, Beybars took over the tribute of the Assassins, and having acquired a influence over them¹ he set about disarming their power. Between 1270 and 1273 he took their fortresses one by one, by force or by capitulation, and induced the most dreaded of all secret societies to take up its abode in Egypt, where it gradually lost its fanatical character and became merged in the peaceful population.

- 1271 Meanwhile, relieved from hostilities on the Syrian coast, Beybars turned his arms northwards, once more he overran Cilicia, surprised and burnt el-Mazrak and Sis, and raided up to Tarsus, where the prayers of Islām were recited in triumph. He had defeated the Mongols near Bira early in 1273, after swimming the Euphrates at the head of his troops; and in 1277 he waged his last campaign against the most powerful of his foes. They now ruled Asia Minor and the young Selgūk princes by means of a governor, or Perwāna, Mu'in-ed-dīn, and against him Beybars led the yellow standards of his ever-victorious army. Near Abulusteyn he fell upon the enemy, with his 11,000 mamluks, and inflicted so terrible a defeat that the Mongols left nearly 7000 dead upon the field. Their camp was taken and the prisoners put to death. The sultan seated himself upon the throne at Kayseriya (Caesarea) where the Selgūk sultans of Rūm had reigned for two centuries, and here he received the

1277
Apr.
10

Apr.
12

¹ Beybars was reported to have urged the Assassins to the murderous assault upon Edward Plantagenet, but he strenuously denied the charge.

homage of the people, was prayed for in the mosque, belauded by the poets, hymned by the royal Selguk band; and here he caused coins to be struck in his name, and divided the Perwana's treasure among the troops. Here too he received the allegiance of the Turkman ruler of Karaman, whose tribesmen proved a useful buffer on the northern frontier. It was but a temporary occupation, for the Persian Ilkhan was already mustering a vast army to recover his losses, and Beybars prudently returned to Syria, leaving Caesarea to the pitiless butchery of the enraged Mongols: but the glory of having sat on the Selguk throne was not the least among his triumphs.

Nor was this northern expansion the only side on which the empire of Egypt was enlarged. Slightly more permanent was the annexation of the Sudan. Dawūd, the Christian king of Nubia, who should by ancient custom have paid an annual tribute or *ask* of slaves to the sultan (see above, p. 21), had sent various expeditions into the Egyptian territory, and taken Muslims captive at Aswān on the Nile and at Aydihāb on the Red Sea coast. In return the Egyptian governor of Kūs had raided Nubia as far as Dongola in 1272-3; and in 1275 Beybars seized the opportunity of the arrival of Dawūd's nephew Shekenda in Egypt to espouse his cause and set him up in opposition to his uncle. A fresh army was sent into the Sudan, the forts of Daw, Sūs and Dongola were taken, Dawūd defeated, and Shekenda set upon the throne, after taking the most solemn and tremendous oath by all he held sacred to be a true and loyal vassal to the sultan of Egypt, to render the customary *ask* of slaves, and to pay half the revenue of the kingdom, together with various elephants, giraffes, panthers, dromedaries, and oxen, as tribute, as well as a gold dinār for each adult male of the population, who were also compelled to take an oath of allegiance. The conquest of the Sudan had been attempted before in 652, and again by Saladin's brother in 1173, but its dependence had been merely nominal, and such it soon became again.

Beybars had now reached the goal of his aspirations.

The slave had risen (by a twofold murder of his leaders, it is true) to become the greatest sultan of his century. His orders were obeyed from the fourth cataract of the Nile to the river Pyramus, and on the east from Bira along the Euphrates to Karkisiya on the Khabur. The Bedawis of the deserts were his auxiliaries, the sherifs of the holy cities of Arabia were under his control, all Syria was subject to him, save the few cities on the coast which the Christians still held, and the principality of Hamâh. The king of the Yemen courted his friendship, and sent him costly gifts; the ruler of Abyssinia sought a patriarch at his hands. Sawâkin on the Red Sea was his, and the chiefs of north Africa from Barka westwards paid him tribute.¹ At the height of his renown he died, probably from a poisoned cup which he had prepared for another.

The greater part of his reign was spent in campaigns outside Egypt, but he generally passed the winter months at Cairo, whilst his troops rested and rains or snow hindered marching, and he devoted these intervals to improving the country and the capital. It was not only in founding and restoring mosques and colleges, or rebuilding the Hall of Justice at the foot of the citadel, that he showed his public interest. He enlarged the irrigation canals and dug new ones, made roads and bridges, fortified Alexandria and repaired the pharos,

¹ Weil, iv. 96-97. Karkisiya was taken from the Mongols in 1265; a year later the sherif of Medina received his appointment from Beybars, who also nominated the sherif of Mecca. Hamâh was the last refuge of the Ayyubid power, and its princes retained the title of king, though really subordinate to the mamlik sultans, until their extinction in 1341; the last king but one, Abû-l-Fidâ, more famous as an historian and geographer, was born in 1273 at Damascus, whether his parents had fled in dread of a Mongol invasion. Hims (Famea) the penultimate possession of the Ayyubids, fell into Beybars's hands on the death of its last king in 1263. The rest of their dominions was taken by the Mongols about 1260, and the Syrian part was recovered by Kutuz. In 1263, Beybars had treacherously entrapped Mughith, the Ayyubid prince of Karak, and probable claimant for the throne of his father 'Adil II of Egypt, and shot him up in the citadel of Cairo. Karak then became a fortress of Egypt, as Shawbek had been since 1261. Sawâkin was taken in 1266.

and protected the mouths of the Nile from the risk of foreign invasion. He revived the Egyptian fleet, built forty war galleys and maintained 12,000 regular troops—not reckoning, one must assume, the Arab and Egyptian militia or occasional levies. His heavy war expenses entailed heavy taxation, and though with a view to popularity he began his reign by remitting the oppressive taxes imposed by Kutoz to the amount of 600,000 *D* a year, he found himself compelled to increase the fiscal burdens as his campaigns developed. Yet we read more often of old taxes repealed than of fresh duties imposed and his treasury was filled less by the imposts of Egypt than by the contributions from the conquered cities and districts of Syria, the tribute of vassal states and tribes, and the valuable custom-dues of the ports. Some idea of his wealth may be gained from the list of the presents he sent to his ally, the Khan of the Golden Horde. There was a throne inlaid with carved ebony and ivory, a silver chest, choice prayer-carpets, curtains, cushions innumerable, fine sword-blades with silver hilts, saddles from Khwārizm, bows from Damascus, Arabian javelins, silver and enamelled lamps and chandeliers, a priceless Korān in a gold-embroidered case, black eunuchs, cooks, Arab horses, dromedaries, mules, wild asses, giraffes, apes, parrots, etc.

His government was enlightened, just, and strict. He met the severe famine of 1264 by measures at once wise and generous, by regulating the sale of corn, and by undertaking, and compelling his officers and emirs to undertake the support of the destitute for three months. He allowed no wine (though the tax on it used to produce 6000 *D*. a year), beer, or hashish in his dominions; he attempted to eradicate contagious diseases by scientific isolation; he was strict with the morals of his subjects, shut up taverns and brothels, and banished the European women of the town; though, personally, he was addicted to the Tatar kumiz, and was suspected of oriental depravity. He was no sybarite, whatever his vices, no man was more full of energy and power of work. If his days were often given to hunting or polo, lance-play or

marksmanship, his nights were devoted to business. A courier who arrived at daybreak received the answering despatches by the third hour, with invariable punctuality. We have seen (p. 247) how once fifty-six documents were drawn up, signed and sealed in one night.

With the people he was popular: the Muslims always admired a fighting sultan, especially if he had an open hand, and Beybars was lavish in largesse, as well as in alms. He was also approved by the religious, not only on account of his pious endowments, but because he showed no favour to any one party in Islam. For the first time he appointed four *kulis*, one for each of the four orthodox schools, and, by playing off one against another, contrived to get his own way in everything affecting law and religion. The nobles and officers of the state and army stood in dread of his wrath. He suspected every one, and constantly shifted his governors from post to post to prevent their acquiring local influence. If an emir showed a trace of treason there was no mercy for him; on the other hand, a loyal servant was sure of good pay, rapid promotion, and a share of the conquered lands. The sultan's worst quality was his perfidy; his word and his oath were worthless, and he prided himself upon tricking an enemy to his death. The insidious device by which he got rid of an Armenian ecclesiastic, by sending him a compromising letter and causing it to be waylaid by an Egyptian agent and shown to the Mongol governor, is but one of many instances. But it is fair to remember that he only met like with like, and that the court in which he was trained, supplemented by the experience of his own career, was not such as to encourage boundless confidence in his comrades or servants. By such steps as he had climbed, others might climb too, and it is not surprising that suspicion kept his dungeons in the Citadel constantly full. His mistrust of his agents led to various devices in order to watch them unseen; he was supposed to be confined to his tent by illness in Palestine when he had really ridden incognito all the way to Cairo,¹ where he stayed several days concealed in the

Citadel, studying the behaviour of his unsuspecting representatives. On another occasion he is said to have ventured in disguise into Asia Minor to spy out the land, and having left a ring in pledge at a cook-shop, he had the effrontery to write to the Mongol Ilkhān Abāgā to request that it might be returned. His courage and daring, whether in battle or in dangerous exploration, were extraordinary. The heroic qualities of sultan Beybars have outlived his faults and pettinesses, and to the present century the audiences in the coffee-shops¹ of Cairo have delighted in the story-tellers' recital of the daring exploits and princely generosity of the king who has impressed the imagination of the Egyptians more than any other, scarcely excepting Alexander and Saladin.

¹ See the account of the romance of Ez Zāhir (Fīh Dhāhir) in *Late Modern Egyptians*, ch. xxxi.

CHAPTER X

THE HOUSE OF KALĀ'UN

1279—1382

Authorities.—Abū-l-Fulā, en-Nuwairī, Ibn Naṣr, al-Makrī, Aḥmad-Maḥmūd al-Kāshānī, Ibn Ḥayṣ; eastern: Quatremère's *Histoire des Sultans Mameluks* and *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iv.; Lane Poole, *Art of the Saracens and Cal. Or. Coins in A M*; Canova, *Hist. de la capitale du Caire* (*Mém. mus. archéol. franç.* vi).

Principal Monuments in Egypt.—Mosque, miḥrāb, and kullā (medfēn) Kalā'ūn, 1284—1303; mosque enl Beybars; tomb Kā'il, in south Karāfa, 1283; Lā'īn's restoration M. of Ibn Tulun, 1206; T. Zayn-ed-Dīn Yūsuf, 1208; Medr en-Nāṣir, 1200; restorations M. of al-Hakīm, Azhar, Ibn-Kuzūk etc., 1302—4; khānīkāh Beybars II, 1310; Medr Taybars (in Azhar), 1309, aqueduct and buildings in Citadel, 1313, and M. en-Nāṣir, 1318; M. emir Ḥameyn, 1319; M. Al-melik, 1319; Medr. Sengar el-G'awālī and Salār, 1323; T. prince Ordugīn, 1324; M. Ahmad el-Mihmūdī, 1325; part of M. Kawṣun, 1329; M. Al-mīn, 1330; Medr Aḥbughā, 1334; T. of Tāhtmur, 1334; palace Beṣṭak, c. 1335; T. and M. Aḥmbughā el-Mandānī, 1338—9; M. Sitta Mīnā, 1339; M. Aḥm, 1346; M. Kūṣuk, 1346; M. Aḥmbughā, 1347; M. Aḥmbughā el-Jamālī, 1348; M. Kallūbughā, 1348; M. Marṣak, 1350; M., khānīkāh, and zāwīa Shaykhū, 1350—5; eastern of Lūṣūn, 1351; M. Ṣarghāmīsh, 1357; M. and T. sultan Ḥamān, 1356—62; restorations M. el-Hakīm, 1359, and Azhar, 1360; Medr prince Tatar el-Muḥarrīn, 1360; T. prince Tulbiya, 1364; T. Tinkī, 1303; Medr. el-Ḥusayn el-Nāṣirī, 1373; M. el-Aḥmūdī, 1308.

Principal Inscriptions in Egypt.—On the mosques and tombs enumerated above, often with dates of commencement as well as of completion, Baraka Khān in mosque (disappeared), 1278; Bekmur in M. of Tālār, 1300; Beybars II in M. Hākīm, 1303; Nāṣir on Citadel, 1313, and in M. Kalā'ūn, 1303.

Principal Inscriptions in Syria.—Baraka (associated as prince with his father Beybars) on citadel of Damascus, and castle of Karak, Kalā'ūn on mausoleum built by him for Beybars and Baraka at Damascus, tablet commemorating conquest of Marakab 1285, inscr. at

Balâzumen, Ba'albekk, Karak, Jerusalem, Hebron, Nîbules, and Sheyzer; Khallî at Yuba, on mosque at Tripolis, cladel of Aleppo; Ketbughî on great mosque (church) of Ramla, and Hamah; Lâgî on great mosque (church) of Gaza, at Shawînk and Munakhîr; Nâsir Mohammed in harem of Jerusalem, M. el-Akâ, k. es-Sakhra etc., in mosques of Gaza, G'ebela, Tripolis, Ramla, on tower of Ramla, wall and gate of Damascus, and G'ier Torâ near by, on castle of Karak, at Latakia and on Mt. Hor; Kâmil Sha'bân in M. el-Akâ at Jerusalem, on castles of Karak and Tripolis; Hasan in M. el-Akâ and in great mosque of Ba'albekk, es-Sâh in M. el-Akâ and mosque at Ma'ra near Karak; Nâsir Sha'bân on citadel of Aleppo (MSS. notes of M. van Berchem).

Coins (see under each reign), *armorial badges*, *numismatic bowls and other vessels*, *enamel and glass lamps*, etc. in British, Victoria and Albert, Cairo, Paris, and other museums, and in private collections.

On the three sons of Beybars, the eldest, by a daughter of Baraka Khân of the Golden Horde, was raised to the throne with the titles el-Melik es-Sa'id Nâsir-ed-dîn Baraka Khân. Beybars had proclaimed him his heir as early as 1264, and three years later had caused him to be saluted as "sultan," so anxious was he to secure the dynastic succession to his line. Unhappily he had not transmitted his great qualities to his sons. Es-Sa'id was a weak pleasure loving youth of nineteen, the tool of his Mongolian mother and of the gay young courtiers of his choice, upon whom he lavished the best appointments of the empire. The old emirs of his father's wars were neglected; some were imprisoned, or even poisoned by the queen-mother; their discontent grew into open rebellion, and Sa'id, besieged in the citadel of Cairo, was forced to abdicate, and to retire to the fortress of Karak.¹ The mamiûks begged Kâkân, one of the most capable of the elder generals, to accept the throne; but the prudent emir foresaw opposition, and preferred to set up the youngest son of his master, Bedr-ed-dîn Selâmish with the title of el-'Âdil. For a hundred days Kâkân acted as atâbeg or regent for the child of seven years, meanwhile placing his own supporters in all the

¹ He died in March, 1280, and was buried beside Beybars at Damascus. His brother, el-Mu'izz Khâfîr, succeeded him as prince of Karak.

offices of state, and thus preparing the way for the next step. Selāmish was then quietly deposed, and Kalā'ūn became sultan of Egypt.

El-Melik el-Manṣūr Sayf-ed-dīn Kalā'ūn el-Eḥṣī es-Ṣāliḥ,¹ a Turk of the Burg Ōghlu tribe of Kipchak, more fortunate in his progeny than Beybars, founded a princely house which lasted a hundred years, maintained and even increased the prestige and territorial extent of the Egyptian empire, and filled the capital with noble monuments. He had, however, a stern fight to go through before he was settled on his throne. The mamluk system had this special weakness, that on the death of the sultan, whom they had elected from their number, the leading emirs were all possible candidates for the vacant place. There was as yet no hereditary order of succession, though the tendency had been to prefer—pending party combinations—the temporary recognition of a late sultan's son. There were several of Beybars's generals who felt that they had as good a claim to the throne as Kalā'ūn, and one of them, Sunkur, proclaimed himself king of Syria with the style of el-Melik el-Kāmil. He had the support of several of the leading Zāhiris or mamluks of Beybars, together with that of the Bedawis of the desert, and the Ayyūbid prince of Hamāh. Their united forces were defeated by Kalā'ūn only after a combat of many hours, aided by desertions, in a great battle at el-Gesura, near Damascus; and partly by discriminating severity partly by wise conciliation, the disaffection was brought to an end. Soon after, he renewed the truce which Beybars had made with the Hospitaliers of Markab (in spite of their infractions), and

¹ "The victorious king sword of the faith, Kalā'ūn the military, [mamluk] of es-Ṣāliḥ." Kalā'ūn, so pronounced in Egypt, but written Kīlāwūn in Turkish, means "duck", and the representation of a wild duck is very common upon bowls and other works in inlaid silver and brass bearing his name or his sons. See my *Art of the Saracens*, pp. 184, 190, 194. The "military" refers to his having been purchased for a thousand dīnars. He was a thorough Turk, and spoke very little Arabic. Very few of Kalā'ūn's coins have been preserved; one has a date, Damascus, 682 (1283-4).

concluded treaties with the prince of Tripolis (16 July, 1281), the Templars of Tortosa (15 April, 1282) and the lord of 'Akka (3 June, 1283). These treaties were nominally for ten years, and the most notable provisions they contained were freedom of access for Egyptian vessels to the Christian ports, and onerous restrictions upon further fortifications. That the Christian states agreed to abandon measures of self-defence is evidence that they must have felt their helplessness against the armies of Egypt. Their end was not far off.

These various treaties with the Crusader cities were concluded under the stress of a Mongol invasion. Kān'ku wanted his hands free to engage his only formidable enemy, who, taking advantage of the confusion of the Syrian revolt, had crossed the Euphrates, and sacked Aleppo. The sultan raised every man he could, mamlûks and Turkmāns, troops from Ḥamāh and Karak, Bedawis of the deserts, and Arabs from the Ḥigāz and from the Euphrates.¹ His total muster was about 50,000. The Mongols under Mangutimur, a brother of the Ilkhān Abāghā, numbered according to different estimates from 50,000 to 80,000, of whom about a third were composed of contingents from Georgia, Armenia, and the East Roman borders. The two armies met near Ḥimṣ, and the decisive battle was fought on Thursday, 30 Oct., 1281. The bewildering tactics of the Mongol horsemen, who doubtless employed their famous *tulughma* or turning movement, completely broke the Muslim left, which fled helter-skelter to the gates of Ḥimṣ, hotly pursued by the swift archers of the steppes. Some of the Egyptians were there slaughtered, some continued their flight towards Egypt, bearing lamentable tidings of the sultan's defeat; whilst the victorious pursuers bivouacked outside Ḥimṣ, and feasted upon their spoils. It occurred to neither party that what had happened to the Egyptian left might not

¹ Makrizi describes the contingent of 4000 Arabs of the tribe of Mura as all well mounted, armed with helmet and cuirass covered with silk, carrying sword and lance, and accompanied by a damsel, who sang a war-song.

have happened to the right and centre. The steady old troops of the Ayyūbid prince of Hamāh were stationed here, with the active and elusive Bedawis, and these had not only stood the brunt of the Mongols' attack, and put their left to flight, but had wounded their general, and taking them in the moment of leaderless hesitation, had charged home and driven the enemy to utter rout. Just as the Mongol right had chased the Egyptian left, so did the Egyptian right pursue the Mongol left, and the extraordinary spectacle of the two halves of two large armies vehemently hunting each other in opposite directions was exhibited to the amazed sultan of Egypt, as, with a guard of only a thousand mamlūks, he stood deserted upon a hill! The feasting Mongols, however, soon learned the disaster to their left, and hastened to join their retreating comrades. They were in such a hurry that they did not even turn aside to cut up the sultan's small brigade, though they passed so close to him that he anxiously concealed his banners and silenced his drums. As soon as he saw their backs, however, he fell upon them, harassed their retreat, and sent orders by pigeon to his governors at the Euphrates to bar the fords. It was the worst disaster the Mongols had met with in their attempts upon Syria: Kāṭuz, Beybars, and now Kālā'ūn had defeated them, and the greatest defeat was the last.

- 1260 The result was an armed truce for seventeen years.
 1261 Both Mangutimur and Abāgha died in the following spring, and the next Ilkhān of Persia, Ahmad, was a Mongol converted to Islam. He did not on that account renounce the policy of his predecessors, and the correspondence with Kālā'ūn exchanged through his ambassador hinted not obscurely at war; but a rival in his own country mended his manners, and a second embassy brought handsome presents and friendly assurances. The ambassadors were received at Damascus by Kālā'ūn, who was surrounded by a guard of 1500 mamlūks, dressed in red atlas satin, with golden girdles, and turbans of cloth of gold, each holding a wax candle. But at this moment Ahmad was dead, and the sultan of

Egypt had no further trouble with the Mongols for the rest of his reign. With the rival Mongol of the Golden Horde he preserved the amicable relations established by Beybars, and also with the emperor of Constantinople, the kings of France, and Castile, and Sicily, the republic of Genoa, and the emperor Rudolf of Habsburg. With Genoa he concluded a commercial treaty, whilst Alfonso of Castile and James of Sicily actually made a defensive alliance with the Muslim sultan against all comers (1250). The king of the Yemen sent him costly presents, and even the ruler of Ceylon despatched an embassy with a letter which no one at Cairo could read, and with a more intelligible oral communication inviting trade with his rich country and offering the aid of twenty ships. Kaldun, like Beybars, was a far-sighted statesman, and did his utmost to attract merchants to Egypt. His passports, ensuring protection throughout his dominions to foreign traders, were current as far as India and China.

When the fear of the Mongols had abated, the sultan lost no time in reducing the Crusader cities. His treaties¹ were valid only so long as he found them convenient, and his oath was no more sacred than that of Beybars. In spite of his ten years' engagement with the Hospitallers, he suddenly fell upon their great fortress of Markab, which was totally unprepared for a siege, and surrendered. The count of Tripolis was then forced to yield him Maraklya on the coast, though its position defied a siege by land. Margaret of Tyre purchased peace for ten years (on paper) by surrendering half her revenues and engaging never to renew her fortifications. The kingdom of Little Armenia was raided and compelled to buy a ten years' truce by a tribute of 1,000,000 dirhems yearly, to release all Muslim prisoners, and also to desist from all measures of defence. In defiance of the treaty with Tripolis, Latakia was seized; and after the death of Boemond VII—the death of a signatory was then held to void a treaty—

¹ Some of these documents are printed in Arabic, with French translation, in the appendix to Quatremère's *Maîtres*, II., i. 166 ff.

1399
Apr. 9 Tripolis itself was besieged, sacked, and stormed, the men put to the sword, the women and children enslaved, and the city burnt. Finally, the people of 'Akka having broken the truce, and any pretext being welcome, a Holy War was proclaimed, and the sultan had just set forth to its conquest, when he suddenly died in his tent at the age of seventy.

1399
Nov. 10

Kalā'ūn followed closely in the steps of Baybars. Their circumstances were identical, and he had confronted the same difficulties with the same policy, fortifying himself by foreign and commercial alliances, temporizing with minor enemies near at hand, in order to meet the one real danger, the Mongol invasion, with his full strength. He had fully maintained the prestige and extent of the empire, and though two expeditions into Nubia (1287-1289)¹ had not succeeded in suppressing a contumacious king, Shemamun had at least been so far impressed by the repeated and temporarily successful invasions of the Egyptians, that he renewed the annual *haki* or tribute which he had rashly renounced. The army was kept in a high state of efficiency, and never before had the 12,000 mamluks been so strictly disciplined and restrained from their natural excesses. About a third of these were quartered in the citadel of Cairo, and this brigade was known as "the Burgis" (men of the Burg or tower). Many of them were Circassians, or Mongols from the Golden Horde. Kalā'ūn is extolled by his eastern contemporaries as a king at once brave and prescient, just and mild, who abhorred bloodshed; yet he could be stern and severe to disloyal emirs, many of whom were executed, imprisoned, or despoiled, whilst his punishments were sometimes barbarous. A Christian who had married a Muslama, contrary to the law, was burnt, and his wife was disfigured. Against Christians, whether on the Syrian coast or in the Egyptian chanceries, he was prejudiced, and by the end of his reign they were

¹ For the various Egyptian campaigns in Nubia and the Sūdān, which cannot be fully narrated here, see Quatremère's *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, etc., II. 39-126.

excluded from all government offices. Towards his Muslim subjects he was benevolent, and his chief pious foundation was devoted as much to the physical as to the spiritual well-being of the people. When Ḳalā'ūn was lying seriously ill in Nūr-ed-dīn's hospital at Damascus he made a vow that if he recovered he would build a hospital at Cairo. The result was the well

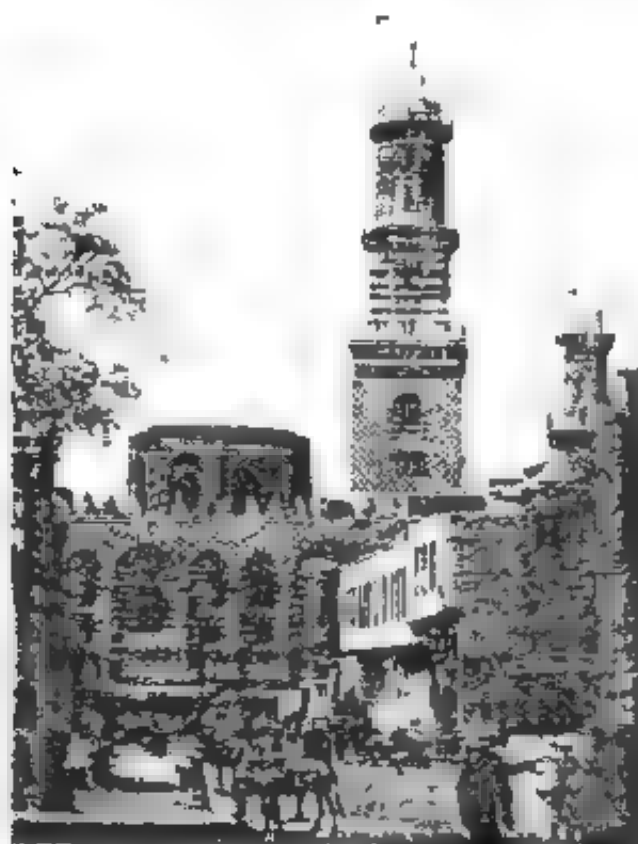


Fig. 60.—Tomb-mosque of Ḳalā'ūn, 1284.

known Mārīštān completed in 1284. The buildings are really three, a mosque, a hospital, and the founder's tomb-chapel (*medfen*). The tomb-chapel is decorated with wonderful arabesque tracery and reliefs in plaster, and with fine marble mosaic; and the red granite pillars, and the robes of the sultan and his son here preserved, have been touched by sick people, barren wives, and dumb

children for centuries in a belief in their curative virtues. The mosque is less striking, but the hospital is one of the most remarkable buildings in Cairo. It contains three courts, two of which are surrounded by small cells, whilst from a larger court with a colonnade on each side open a number of rooms. There were originally wards for every known disease, and a regular medical staff, lecture room, laboratories, dispensary, baths, kitchens, and every appliance then understood. Musicians soothed the wakeful hours of the sufferers, whilst in the adjoining mosque fifty salaried readers of the Korān taught the consolations of religion, and a librarian with five assistants presided over a fine collection of medical, theological, and legal books. Sixty orphans were maintained and educated in the neighbouring school. The hospital was the first ever built in Cairo, and its value was immediately appreciated. Rich and poor were alike treated gratuitously, and this great work has made the name of Kalā'ūn blessed among sultans in Egypt, for with Muslim charity covers a multitude of sins.¹

Of the four sons of Kalā'ūn, 'Alā-ed-dīn had been declared his successor in 1280, but when he died mysteriously in 1288, the next son Khalīl was appointed heir, though his father, whether from dislike of his violent and godless character, or because he suspected him of poisoning his brother, could never be induced to sign the formal deed of appointment. "I will not give the Muslims," he said, "a king like Khalīl." He was waiting probably for the younger son Muhammad to grow up. But meanwhile Kalā'ūn's death and the public recognition did what the unsigned diploma intended. Without opposition el-Melik el-Ashraf Salāh-ed-dīn Khalīl² sat on his father's throne. From the first he set himself to humiliate

¹⁷⁹⁰
Nov.

¹ For the condition and use of the Mānāsān early in the present century, see Lane, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, 92 ff., and for the architecture and ornament consult my *Art of the Saracens*, 73—5, 91, 101, 123 ff.

² Coins of Khalīl are known with the dates, Cairo, 691 (A.D. 1292); Alexandria, 692.

or get rid of the trusted henchmen of his father's court and army. His brief reign of three years is full of execution, imprisonment, and spoliation of the great emirs. The highest ministers of state were the first to suffer. Turuntāi, the chief wezir, was cut down before the sultan's eyes, and Lāgin only escaped death before the throne because the bowstring snapped at his windpipe, and the emirs begged him off. The confiscation of Turuntāi's goods brought the sultan 600 000 *D.* in gold, 17,000 lb of silver coins, and countless slaves, horses, and jewels; whilst the blind son of the murdered man was reduced to beg his bread.

Khalil, at the age of twenty-seven, combined in a superlative degree the worst vices of a cruel and capricious tyrant. His one virtue was courage, and his

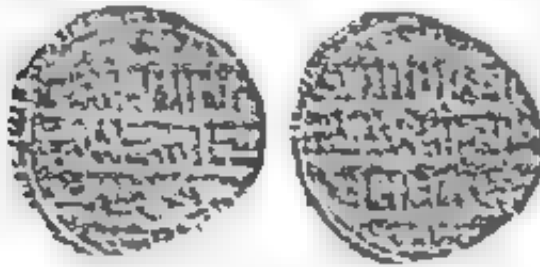


Fig. 61 — Dīnār of Khalil, Cairo, date effaced.

one exploit the conquest of 'Akka. Although the campaign was the legacy of his hated father, he was eager to carry out the policy of extirpating the "infidels"; and little as he cared for religion, he had enough

superstition to preface every campaign by a solemn service of prayer and Korān-reading under the beautiful dome of his father's tomb. The Syrian officials were ordered to send their troops to the plain of 'Akka, together with such quantities of siege material and machines that they filled a hundred ox-carts. Khalil with the army of Egypt joined the camp on April 5, and in a week, ^{1299 Apr.} ninety-two siege engines were playing upon the walls and outworks. 'Akka had the reputation, dating from Saladin's time, of the most formidable fortified place in Syria, and Khalil had brought together an unusually heavy siege train. The defence, however, was not what it had been in former and better days. The fall of so many Christian cities in the campaigns of Beybars and Kalā'ūn had filled 'Akka with a dangerously mixed and

CONQUEST OF AKKA

demoralized population, the offscourings of the refuse of Europe.

"Within its walls were gathered representatives from every nation in Christendom. For every one there was a separate commune, and the various lords of the land, the masters of the great orders, the representatives of the kings of France, England, and Jerusalem, each exercised separate authority, so that there were in one city seventeen independent powers, 'whence there sprang much confusion.' It is not strange that in such circumstances the city became, as it were, the sink into which all the vileness of Christendom found its way. Over its mixed population many ruled but none had authority; within its walls the precepts of religion, law, and morality were alike void, so that in its last days 'Akka became a byword in all Christian lands for the luxury, turbulence, and vice of its inhabitants. . . . There were not wanting enough soldiers to have successfully defended the city: but even in this the last hour of their extremity, its inhabitants were more intent upon feasting than upon fighting. Cowardice and discord also played their part in ruining the hopes of a successful defence. Many at the first threat of danger made haste to flee over-sea, whilst others who stayed for a time departed when the prospects of success grew desperate. . . . Not even when the whole purpose of their existence was in peril could the Templars and Hospitallers lay aside their mutual jealousy; and so the defence, if conducted with valour in parts, lacked that general unity of purpose which could alone have made it successful. At length on Friday, May 18, Knall's engines had wrought such a breach in the walls that, the moat being filled with stones and bodies of the dead, his army forced its way into the city. The people fled before him to the towers, the palaces of the nobles, or the great house of the Templars. Others, making their way to the harbour, crowded on board the ships in such numbers that some vessels were swamped as they lay at anchor. Henry II of Cyprus, who had played a not unworthy part in the early days of the siege, had already escaped to his island

kingdom, whither the grand master of the Hospital and a number of other fugitives now followed him. But there yet remained 60,000 Christians whose fate was slavery, or the sword, or worse. The Templars and those who had taken refuge with them met the noblest end; for, resisting to the last, they succumbed only when their fortress was undermined, and together with numbers of their assailants perished in its ruins."¹

So the last stronghold of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was stormed, sacked, and given to the flames; its renowned towers and bastions were thrown down, its fortifications razed to the earth; and, though a new town rose in its place, the 'Akka of the Middle Ages, the city of a valiant century of fighting, vanished for ever. With its fall the last remnant of the crusading dominions disappeared: for when 'Akka was lost, Tyre, Salon, Beyrût, and the few remaining cities of the Franks could only succumb to fate. Some were taken, some surrendered, but all, save Beyrût, were demolished, their inhabitants massacred or enslaved, and the name of Crusader wiped clean out of the land. The "debate of the world" was closed.

Khalî entered Damascus with a multitude of captives, and a brave display of Christian skulls upon his spear-heads. His success heightened his resolve. He extracted the old caliph Hâsim from his quiet retreat in the Citadel of Cairo, and made him thrice preach a Holy War in the mosque. He had another solemn service at the tomb of his father. He marched to the Euphrates, besieged and took the "fortress of the Greeks," ¹¹⁹⁰ Kalat-er-Rûm, and renamed it Kal'at-el-Mushmîn. He announced that he was about to conquer the whole of Asia and the land of the Romans, till his rule should be supreme from the dawn to the sunset; and then he went home to Cairo. He proclaimed a conquest of the ¹¹⁹¹ Yemen, and then a campaign in Armenia, but it ended at Damascus, where the prudent Cilician surrendered Mar'ash and Behesna in order to keep the peace. The

¹ Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades*, 414—418.

Ilkhān of Persia sent an envoy to say that he wished to live at Aleppo, which had once been taken by his father, and to request its surrender; Khalil replied that he had similar views about Baghdad, which had belonged to his caliphs, and they would see which would get to his goal first. This idle boasting came to an abrupt end when Khalil was lured into a shooting party and murdered by some of his disgusted emirs. When the chief regicide was caught no less a personage than Beydara, the prime minister of Egypt—before his execution he addressed the assembled emirs in justification of his act. "A man," he said, "like Khalil, who drinks wine in the month of fasting, who is given over to unnatural vice, who turns his slaves into nobles, and slights the old emirs of his father, throws some into chains and puts others to the sword, is not fit to rule over Muslims."

The next half century of mamlūk history is occupied by the three interrupted reigns of Kalā'ūn's surviving son (by the Mongol princess Aslun Khātun) el-Melik en-Nāsir Nāṣir-ed-dīn Moḥammad, who was set up by the leading emirs, at the age of nine, after his brother's death; was deposed in a year; brought back five years later (1298); retired again after ten years; and when a year more had passed came back for the third time in 1309, and retained the throne for thirty years till his death (1340). His repeated restoration was due less to any principle of hereditary right—though respect for the memory of his father inclined people to his descendants—than to the jealousies of the leading emirs, which rendered any choice of a sultan from among them little better than an incentive to civil war and murder. En-Nāṣir's first reign was of course purely nominal. The real power lay in the hands of the great nobles who divided the high offices of state among themselves. Ketbughā was viceroy (*ṣāhib-ṣ-sultāna*), Sengar *cah*-Shuḡāl was wazīr, Beybars the Taster (*ṣ-ḍākhil*) was master of the household. The new government at first displayed virtuous energy in capturing the regicides, and avenged Khalil's murder upon such as they caught by

horrible forms of death. A favourite torment was to nail the criminal to boards and parade him through the streets on a camel till he died of thirst and agony. Like all such military cliques, the party soon split up into jealous factions, one supporting Ketbughâ, the other Shugâ'î. Street fights ensued, and at last Shugâ'î was closely besieged in the citadel by an angry mob demanding his head. He was at length betrayed by en-Nâir's Mongolian mother, who sympathized with her fellow countryman Ketbughâ outside the walls. The head of Shugâ'î was paraded on a pike, and the populace protested their undying loyalty to the royal house.

Ketbughâ was now virtually sultan, and his name was prayed for on Fridays next to en-Nâir's. To strengthen his position he obtained pardon for the two leading regicides—Lâghî and Karîsinhur, who enjoyed large popularity and had a strong following—with whom he began to scheme for the possession of the throne. His favour to these emirs roused the indignation of the Ashrafs, or mamûks of the murdered Ashraf Khalîl, 300 in number, who rose in revolt, seized the royal stables and the armourers' market, and after plundering and destroying whatever lay to their hands, encamped at the Citadel gate and laid siege to the fortress. Ketbughâ's troops mounted and rode down to disperse them, and after their defeat the rebels were given over to sundry forms of torture, blinded, maimed, drowned, beheaded and hanged, or nailed to the city gate Zawîlâ; and only a few were so far spared that they were allotted as slaves to their conquerors. Thus the rebellion was put down; but the next day, the viceroy, calling a council of the great nobles of the court, protested that such exhibitions were dishonourable to the kingly state, and that the dignity of sultan would be irreparably compromised if a child like en-Nâir were any longer suffered to occupy the throne. The child ¹²⁹⁶ ^{Dec.} was therefore sent away to grow up, and Ketbughâ, as a matter of course, succeeded. He was unlucky in being associated in the people's mind with a great famine and a terrible plague, when 700 corpses were borne out of

a single gate of Cairo in one day, and 17,500 deaths were recorded in a month. These calamities, added to the discontent excited by the new sultan's favouritism towards the Mongol officers, led to a conspiracy. At the end of 1206 on his return from a journey to Syria, his tent was attacked; his guards and mamlûks, by a devoted resistance, succeeded in enabling their master to fly; and the leader of the rebellion, the new viceroy Lâgin, was forthwith chosen sultan in his stead.

Husâm-ed-dîn Lâgin el-Mansûr,¹ who now ascended the throne under the title of el-Mansur, had originally been a slave of el-Manşûr 'Alî,² son of Aybek, and had then been bought for about £30 by Kālâ'ûn, under whom he rose from the grade of page to that of *silâhdâr*, or armour-bearer; and Kālâ'ûn, coming to the throne, gave him the rank of emir, and made him

viceroy of Syria. Khalil sent Lâgin into prison, and in return Lâgin assisted in his murder. During the brief reign of Ketbughâ, he held the highest office as viceroy, and now he had turned against his

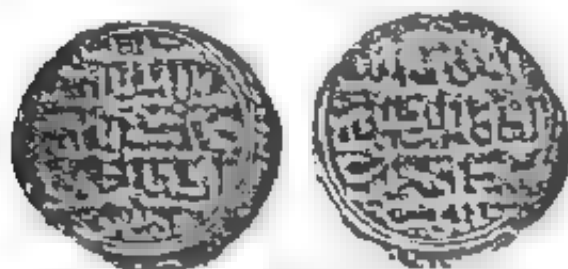


Fig. 62.—Dinâr of Ketbughâ, Cairo (1294-95).

latest lord, and had seized the crown for himself. He had at least some claim of connexion with the royal family (if any hereditary principle was then acknowledged), for he had married a daughter of Kālâ'ûn. The terms of his election throw an interesting light upon the precarious authority of the mamlûk sultans. His fellow-conspirators marched at his stirrup, hailed him sultan, and paid him homage; but they exacted as a

¹ The few coins preserved of Ketbughâ and Lâgin generally have their dates effaced by wear, but one of Ketbughâ has the date [694] (1294-5).

² The European idea that Lâgin was a German is not confirmed by any Arabic authority, and is probably baseless.

condition of their fealty that the new monarch should continue as one of themselves, do nothing without their advice, and never show undue favour towards his own mamluks. Thus he swore; but so suspicious were they of his good faith, that they made him swear it again, openly hinting that when he was once instated he would break his vow and favour his own followers to the injury of the nobles who had raised him to the throne.

1866
Dec. 7

When this had been satisfactorily arranged, Lâgîn rode on to Cairo, attended by the insignia of sovereignty, with the royal parasol borne over his head by the great lord Beyasî; the prayers were said in his name in the mosques, drums were beaten in the towns he passed through; the nobles of Cairo came out to do him fealty; and, escorted by a crowd of lords and officers, he rode to the Citadel, displayed himself as sultan to the people in the *mejdân*, and made his royal progress through the streets from the Citadel to the gate of Victory. The 'Abbasid caliph, a feeble relic of the ancient house of Baghdâd, rode at his side; and before them was carried the caliph's diploma of investiture, without which no sultan would have considered his coronation complete. The streets were decorated with precious silks and arms, and great was the popular rejoicing; for the benevolence and generosity of Lâgîn made him a favourite with the people, and he had already promised to remit the balance of the year's taxes, and had even vowed that if he lived there should not be a single tax left. The price of food, which had risen to famine height during the late disturbances, now fell sixty per cent; bread was cheap, and the sultan was naturally adored.

In spite of his share in a royal murder and a treacherous usurpation, he seems to have earned the affection of his subjects. Not only did he relieve the people from much of the pressure of unjust and arbitrary taxation under which they had groaned, but he abstained, at least until he fell under the influence of another mind, from the tyrannical imprisonments and tortures by which the rule of the mamluks was too commonly secured. His conduct to his rivals was clement to a degree hardly

paralleled among the princes of his time. He did not attempt to destroy the ex-sultan Ketbughá, but gave him the government of Sarkhad by way of compensation.¹ The child Nâsir had nothing to fear from Lâgim, who told him that, as his father's mamluk, he only regarded himself as his representative, holding the reins until Nâsir should be old enough to reign himself. Lâgim was zealous in good works, gave alms largely in secret, and founded many charitable endowments. His restoration of the mosque of Ibn 'Fulûn, at a cost of 400,000, was impelled by the circumstance that he had found refuge in the then deserted cloisters during the pursuit which followed the murder of Khawil. Hidden in the neglected chambers and arcades of the old mosque, whether so few worshippers repaired that but a single lamp was lighted before the niche at night, and the muezzin dared to come no further than the threshold to chant the call to prayer, Lâgim vowed that he would repay his preservation by repairing the mosque that had sheltered him. Such good deeds, and the magnanimous release of many prisoners, could not fail to endear him to the populace; and after he was confined to the Citadel for two months with injuries resulting from a fall at polo, the rejoicings on his return to public life were genuine and universal. All the streets were decorated with silks and satins, the shops and windows were hired by sight-seers eager to catch a glimpse of the sultan, and drums were beaten during his state progress through the capital. He celebrated the occasion by giving a number of robes of honour to the chief lords, freeing captives, and distributing alms to the poor. His private life commended him to the good Muslims of Cairo; for although in his youth he had been a wine-bibber, gambler, and too much absorbed in sport, when he ascended the throne he became austere in his practice, fasted two months in the year besides Ramadân, affected the society of good pious *qadis* and divines, was plain in his dress, as the Prophet

¹ Ketbughá lived to serve his old master's son, ex-Nâsir, loyally in his wars, reconquered Cairo, and died in 1303, much respected for his high character and piety.

ordains that a Muslim should be, and strict in enforcing simplicity among his followers. His ruddy complexion and blue eyes, together with a tall and imposing figure, indeed marked the foreigner, but his habits were orthodoxy itself; he bastinadoed drunkards, even if they were nobles; and his immoderate eating was not necessarily wicked.

But Lāgin, in spite of his promise, began to make favourites. He had at first appointed his fellow-conspirators to the great offices of state; but gradually he began to replace the old emirs by new men, and a certain Mangūtīmūr acquired a supreme and unhappy influence over his amiable sovereign. Tried and honoured nobles were tested on the proposal that the new viceroy should be Lāgin's successor, and on their indignant negation of the possibility of such a step, they were cast into prison, where they died with suspicious regularity. At last even the great lord Beysari, the richest and most popular emir in Egypt, was thus arrested, though the marshal led him to prison with tears in his eyes. Murmurs became louder, and to silence them Lāgin sent the army to ravage Little Armenia, and took the opportunity to disperse the Syrian nobles whom he distrusted. Some fled to the Mongols of Persia, and Syria was given over to anarchy. Egypt was scarcely less disturbed: Mangūtīmūr's oppressions and reprisals were not tamely endured by the emirs; but it was



Fig. 63.—Inscription on medallion (collece) of en Nâsir al Cairo, 1299.

no light thing to risk the horrors of incarceration in the Citadel dungeon, a noisome pit, where foul and deadly exhalations, unclean vermin, and bats, rendered the darkness more horrible. At length a plot was formed by two determined men; Ligin was murdered as he was in the act of rising to say the evening prayers, and immediately afterwards Mangūtimūr was entrapped. He was for the moment consigned to the pit under the Citadel; but the emir who had dealt the fatal stroke to Ligin arrived on the scene, and crying with a strident voice, "What had the sultan done that I should kill him? By God, I never had aught but benefits from him; he brought me up, and gave me my steps of promotion. Had I known that when the sultan was dead this Mangūtimūr would be living, I would never have done this murder, for it was this man's acts that led me to the deed." So saying, he plunged into the dungeon, slew the hated favourite with his own hands, and delivered his house over to the soldiers to pillage.

The murderers, one of whom assumed the throne for a few days, were duly executed with that sense of justice which the mamlūks always displayed towards other people's crimes. But after this experience of the rule of an emir, the only course was to revert to the established line; and en-Nāṣir was brought back to Cairo and welcomed with a burst of enthusiasm. Two days later he was again enthroned¹ with a new diploma of investiture from the nominal caliph. Robes of honour were distributed, cities decorated, drums beaten throughout the empire. He was still only fourteen, and no match for the stern emirs who really governed. The new governors who now departed to their provincial posts, after kissing the threshold of the Citadel according to custom, were all creatures of the emirs Salār and Beybars "the Taster" (gāshnegār), the one a Uirat Tatar, the

¹ Coins of Nāṣir's second reign (1299—1310) bear the dates Cairo, 692 (which must be 698 or 699 = 1299-1300), and Cairo, 707 (1307-8). Many more coins bearing the name of Nāṣir, and the mints Cairo, Aleppo, Ḥanāh, Tripoli, Damascus, may belong either to this or to the first or third reign.

other a Circassian, who managed the affairs of state much to their own advantage. The caliph held councils on Saturdays, but all he had to do was to register the decisions of his emirs: Salar suggested a certain measure, and Nâsir announced its sanction. Whilst the great nobles were amassing vast fortunes from their landed fiefs and various perquisites—Salar's daughter was given a dowry of 100,000 *D*—the sultan was kept almost in penury, and deprived of the delicacies and luxuries to which he was accustomed. The only question seemed to be which of the two leaders, Salar or Beybars, would overthrow the other and seize the throne. So far they were acting together, inseparable in public acts and ceremonies, but the duel must come before long.

Meanwhile every other consideration was merged in the renewed struggle with the Mongols. The Bahri mamluks, who had fled to Ghazan, one of the greatest and best of the Ilkhâns of Persia, had fully revealed to him the distracted condition of Syria at the close of Lâghî's reign, and with their counsel the Mongols again crossed the Euphrates in great strength to recover what they had lost in 1262. The young sultan, though no warrior, rode at the head of the army of Egypt to meet the invader, leaving the real command to the emirs, to whom war was as the breath of life. Bad fortune attended the march from the outset. The emirs were jealous and quarrelsome; a conspiracy of Ural refugees of Syria against the Egyptian leaders, though savagely suppressed, bred wider suspicions; much of the camp baggage was lost in the flooded torrents; a dense flight of swallows, an evil omen, darkened the sky—the army was dismayed. Then as they neared Damascus crowds of fugitives from Aleppo and the north testified to the terror of the invasion. Still advancing, but with sinking hearts, the Egyptians came in sight of the Mongols at Hims. "Throw away your lances," was the order, "and trust to sword and mace." The only chance lay in close fighting, eye to eye, when the Mongol bowmen could not use their arrows. In the "Chyll of the Treasurer" (*Wâdy-el-Khâzindâr*) 20,000 or 30 of mamluk

1260
Sept.

Nov.

1776
Dec.
21
horsemen met a Mongol army estimated at four or five times their numbers. But all the great emirs were there, mighty men of war, and the troopers were heavily armed and bound by clannish ties to their leaders. The usual formation in three divisions, centre and right and left wing, was observed, and a body of 200 grenadiers armed with naphtha tubes was placed in front of the line. Holy divines went up and down the ranks, exhorting the men not to waver, till the soldiers wept in self-compassion! Ghāzān kept his Mongols dismounted, behind their horses, and threw the first move upon the Egyptians. The naphtha was discharged, without effect, and then the Mongols abandoned their reserve, and after pouring a deadly volley of arrows into the advancing Egyptians, mounted and charged with their usual dash. As at the earlier battle of Hims, each side scored a success on opposite wings, and for a moment the issue wavered. Then Ghāzān, sterning his fears, rallied his men to a second charge, which broke the centre, and the splendid cavalry of Egypt turned and fled. The great emirs, Salār, Baktimār, Barlughā, all were riding for their lives, with the arrows of their pursuers hissing past their ears. The weeping sultan was left with eighteen mamlūks for his guard. He was saved by the Egyptian left, who had been successful at the outset of the battle, and coming back from the pursuit of their opponents were amazed to find the day lost and the king abandoned. Their arrival, coupled with the heavy loss of the Mongols, checked the rout, and the remnant of the army retreated in fair order to Damascus, and thence with the utmost speed to Egypt.

1776 The Mongols immediately occupied Damascus without resistance, and to his credit, Ghāzān, who was a Muslim, and also a wise and generous king, showed the utmost clemency to the inhabitants, not only of his own religion, but Jews and Christians as well. No pillage or annoyance was to be permitted. The community of religion

1 The decree of capitulation (from Neweyri) is printed in Quatremère's *Makrizi* II., i. 252, note, and the subsequent firman constituting the new government of Syria, *ibid.*, 256, note; see also Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, iii. 441 ff.

naturally distinguished this conquest from the earlier invasions when the Mongols were still heathen, but there was a good deal of the old leaven among them, they were hard to hold, and outside Damascus they committed much havoc. Even inside a vast amount of injury was done, nearly 10,000 inhabitants were killed or sold, and many precious monuments of the age of Nūr-ed-dīn burnt and destroyed; but this breach of faith must be ascribed less to Mongol perfidy than to the impossibility of restraining a barbarous army, and to the inevitable destruction caused by the valorous defence of the citadel, which Argawāsh, the Egyptian commandant, resolutely refused to surrender, and whence he waged a vigorous contest with the city. Meanwhile Egypt was strenuously working for revenge. Immense preparations in arms and money were made. The demand for mounts was so great that the price of a horse rose from £ 12 to £ 40; and gold was so plentiful that the dinar fell to the exchange value of seventeen instead of twenty-five dirhems. In view of these preparations, and of danger on the eastern frontier, and finding the citadel inexpugnabile, the Mongols evacuated Damascus, after an orgy of drunk and debauchery such as had never before been known in that home of orthodoxy.

The Bahri mamlūks who had accompanied Ghāzān were left in command, and reverted to their Egyptian allegiance. Argawāsh came down from the citadel he had so valiantly defended, restored order, repressed rioting, poured out the Mongols' wine and broke their bottles. The Egyptians reoccupied Damascus and Aleppo and the whole of Syria; and the Druses of the Lebanon, whose 12,000 bowmen had harassed the mamlūks in their retreat four months before, were brought to a heavy reckoning.

Negotiations followed: after a disastrous expedition into north Syria, where rains and snow decimated his army, Ghāzān sent two embassies to Cairo to treat for peace, but without result.¹ Once more the issue of war

¹ The correspondence is given in Quatremère, *loc. cit.* Appendix, II., li. 289 ff., where (309 ff.) will be found an elaborate account of oriental diplomatic and the technical formalities of despatches.

must be tried and 100,000 Mongols under Kūtlughshāh
 123 marched into Syria. Damascus was in panic, men de-
 serted their families and fled for protection, people were
 trampled to death in the crowds that thronged out of the
 gates, extravagant prices were paid for horses and asses
 to carry out the terror-stricken population. No such
 fears disturbed Beybars and the great mamlūks who
 entered the frightened city in April. They rode out to
 meet the Mongols, whom they found, 40,000 strong, at
 Shakhīb on the plain of Marg-es-Suffar,¹ where the
 Saracens had defeated the army of Heraclius nearly
 seven centuries before. Nāṣir with the caliph and the
 main body of the Egyptian army came up from Cairo on
 the same day. The spectacle was repeated of the defeat
 Apr. 21 of the Egyptian right, with severe loss, by the Mongols,
 whilst the left and centre remained steady and resisted
 every assault. At the end of the day the Egyptians
 were in possession of the field, and the Mongols had
 retired to a neighbouring hill. "The sultan and his
 people passed the night on horseback, while the drums
 were beaten and the cymbals sounded to direct the
 fugitives to the rallying place, and the mountain on
 which the Mongols had taken refuge was speedily
 blockaded. Salār, Kipchak, and the other emirs spent
 the night in going round the ranks encouraging the
 men. At sunrise the Egyptian army was seen ranged
 in order . . . an imposing spectacle. Presently the
 Mongols descended to meet them, and a vigorous struggle
 recommenced, several of the sultan's mamlūks having
 their horses shot under them. The combat lasted till
 noon, when Kūtlughshāh withdrew again to the moun-
 tain."² Again the Mongols, urged by thirst, came down
 to force their way through the surrounding enemy, and
 this time the Egyptians craftily let them through, only
 to fall upon their retreating squadrons. The exhausted
 enemy were cut to pieces, or lost in the desert, and it
 was a miserable remnant that followed Kūtlughshāh over

¹ The historians Alā-ḍ-Fiḍā and es-Nuwayrī both personally took part in the battle.

² Howorth, *Mongols* i. 470.

the Euphrates. 10,000 prisoners and 30,000 head of cattle fell to the conquerors. The catastrophe almost broke Ghāzān's heart: he died soon after, and his ^{May} successor, Ulghātā, was careful never to risk an encounter ¹⁷ with the mamlūks, who had now for the fourth time beaten back the most dangerous enemy that Egypt had encountered since the Muslim conquest.

Nāṣir returned to Cairo in a wave of glory. Messengers had announced the news, and the eunuchs vied with one another in setting up costly pavilions, or grand stands, richly decorated and furnished, along the route of his procession. Workmen were forbidden to do anything but set up these triumphal erections. Rooms along the route were let at from £2 to £4 for the day. Silken carpets were laid in the street; and the proud sultan rode between the brilliant façades and admired the nobles' pavilions, while troops of Mongol prisoners in chains, each with a fellow Mongol's head hanging from his neck, completed the triumph. So noisy were the rejoicings and so deafening the tumult of drums and music throughout Egypt that nothing short of an earthquake sobered the people.¹

The Mongol war was the great event of Nāṣir's second reign. Beside it the frequent campaigns waged in Cilicia to compel the king of Little Armenia to pay his tribute, or to divert the attention of the mamlūk soldiery from ambitions at home, and a fruitless invasion of Nubia (1304-6), are unimportant. An expedition was equipped in transports built on the Nile to expel the Templars from the island of Aradus (Antartūs) on the Syrian coast, the last foothold of the Crusaders, and accomplished its object with the usual slaughter. The relations of the Egyptian sultan with foreign powers continued friendly. The old alliance with the khāns of the Golden Horde was maintained, though the mamlūks had no longer any necessity for making common cause against the Persian Mongols. Nubia sent tributary presents (1305), ambassadors came from Morocco,

¹ See below, p. 302

France, and the emperor of Constantinople (1306), who obtained permission to reopen the church of the Muṣalliyā at Jerusalem.

Abroad all was favourable, but the internal condition of Egypt left much to be desired. The taxation for the war-chest had caused much poverty and discontent. The Bedawi tribes in Upper Egypt had thrown off the sultan's authority after the disaster at Hama in 1299, and had mockingly nicknamed their own chiefs "Salār" and "Beybars" after the two dominant emirs at Cairo. They levied blackmail on the villages, and called it taxes. The mamlūks made short work of this revolt; the real Salār and Beybars led their troops respectively on the east and west of the Nile, Bektāsh went towards the Fayyūm, other emirs to Suez, whilst the governor of Kūs, with friendly Arabs, cut the desert routes. The various movements were executed with secrecy and rapidity, and the unhappy Bedawis were taken completely by surprise. From Giza and Atfih upwards the inhabitants were put to the sword, to the number of about 16,000 men, whose wives and children and property were seized. If a man claimed to be no Bedawi but a townsman, they bade him pronounce the word *ḍalīl* (which no Egyptian can say), and as soon as they heard the true Arab guttural, they cut off his head. The shibboleth disposed of a multitude of evaders. The country-side became the scene of horrible massacres, and the corpses poisoned the air. The Bedawis fled to caves in the hills, but their enemies smoked them to death. Among the spoil were the goods of 1600 land-owners, 8000 oxen, 6000 sheep and goats, 4000 horses, and 32,000 camels. The supply was so abundant that a fat tup sold for a couple of shillings, a goat for ninepence, a pound of butter for twopence. After looting the country the punitive expedition returned to Cairo, leaving behind them an empty land where no man was to be seen.

The Christian and Jewish population also suffered by irrational persecution. Recently they had enjoyed remarkable immunity, and had amassed great wealth.

They rode richly caparisoned horses or mules, wore sumptuous apparel, and held a number of valuable government offices. They waxed, indeed, so independent and (in Muslim eyes) so insolent, that an envoy from Morocco—where such tolerance was incredible—took upon himself to remonstrate with the emirs, the *kadis* were summoned in council, and the result was a revival of the old sumptuary laws. The Christians throughout the empire were to adopt blue turbans, and the Jews yellow, and neither were permitted to ride horse or mule; they must ride asses and yield the middle of the road to the Muslims; must ring no bells, nor raise the voice, with sundry other humiliating restrictions. Many Christians who valued their appearance became Muslims. Some churches were demolished by the gratified mob at Alexandria and elsewhere, and all the churches in Egypt remained closed for the year. It was only at the request of the emperor of Constantinople that a few churches, such as the Mo'allaqa in the *Karr-esh-Shema'*, St. Michael's and St. Nicholas's, were reopened. The "feast of the martyr," or annual Nile festival, a general carnival held on the river near Shubra, was abolished by Beybars, on account of the drinking and disorders that it entailed. The manners of the people had indeed reached an unusual degree of licence. The rejoicings after the triumphant return of the sultan from Syria were prolonged into a drunken and licentious revel. Unveiled women were seen in the company of men drinking wine unabashed on barges in the *Hakimi* canal, insomuch that pleasure boats were afterwards forbidden on its waters. The tremendous shock of earthquake that followed gave them something else to think about. The oscillation, the cracking of walls, the fall of houses and mosques, caused a frantic panic. Women rushed into the streets unveiled, and gave birth to premature infants. Men saw their houses crumbling to the ground, and everything they possessed lost; or, flying in amazement, left their homes to be rifled by thieves. The Nile threw its boats a bow-shot on the land. The population encamped outside the city,

trembling for the fall of the heavens and the end of the world. The earthquake was felt all through Egypt, and injured Alexandria as well as Kū; Damascus and 'Akka experienced the shock. At Caro the mosques of Hākim, el-Azhar, Šālih b Ruzzik, and Kalā'un, and at Fustāt the old mosque of 'Amr, suffered much damage, and for a year and more the chief emirs, notably Salār and Beybars expended large sums on their restoration. Cairo, after the earthquake, looked like a city that had been wrecked by a conquering army.

The wealth of the governing class was fortunately equal to the expense of mosque restoration. The nobles displayed a remarkable public or religious spirit in devoting large sums to this purpose, and besides restoring the ravages of the earthquake, the government completed (1304) and richly endowed the new college of the Nāṣiriya or collegiate mosque of en Nāsir (still standing in the Sūḵ-en-Nahāsīn), the Gothic gateway of which had been



Fig. 64.—Arms of a polo-master.

brought from the cathedral of 'Akka during the demolition of the city by Khalil's orders. There was no lack of money in Egypt. When Bektimūr, the polo-master of the court, made the pilgrimage to Mekka in 1301, he spent 85,000 *D.* on the journey, largely in charitable gifts. The emīr Beysarī, the most honoured and popular of all the mamlūks, who had declined the throne after the death of Khalil, set no bounds to his extravagance, never drank twice out of the same cup—and his cups were doubtless of chased and inlaid silver, like his perfume-burner in the British Museum—lived in the most splendid palace that money could build, and prided himself on being perpetually £15,000 in debt. The rich fiefs of the mamlūk nobles, increased by sundry

emoluments and perquisites, enabled them to maintain a princely state, in spite of frequent dismissal, imprisonment, and confiscation. The luxury and artistic profusion of the times, the remarkable developments of literary and historical studies, and the honourable position of men of learning, form a strange contrast to the constant deeds of violence, the tumults, street fights, murders and atrocious tortures. Egypt was undoubtedly prosperous under this strangely compounded class of rulers. The taxes were heavy, but the Niles had been good, and the trade with Europe was immense; a single ship entering Alexandria harbour is stated to have paid 40,000 *D.* in



Fig. 65. — Bowl of emir of en-Nâsir in the British Museum.

customs, and the trade with India must have been equally important. Whatever passed through Egypt was dutiable, and a duty of ten per cent. on trade will account for a vast revenue.¹

¹ According to el Kalkashandî, who died in 1418, but availed himself of the statistics of earlier writers, the principal source of revenue in Egypt, the land-tax, was paid either in kind (as usually in Upper Egypt) to the amount of from one to three ardebs (of 5 bushels each) per a re, or in money (as in the delta). In 1370 this tax amounted to 40 dirhems (= 2 *D.*, or about a guinea) on the best land (*hâk*), and 30 on land (*ârdâk*) exhausted by wheat crops, etc.; but it was raised in later times. If the crops failed or were poor the tax was

The sultan himself received nothing of all this. He was kept in straitened circumstances by his overbearing ministers, and when Salâr and Ileybars fell out and quarrelled over the prey, he found his position yet more intolerable. Once he tried to have them murdered, but the plot was divulged and matters became worse. The people indeed were on his side, and the rumour of a design against his life roused them to a dangerous pitch of excitement—the feeling of loyalty to the house of Kâikân had become part of their character. But the conduct of the emirs made Nâsir's rule impossible, and

required no proposition. The lands of Egypt (meaning apparently the districts) were assigned either to the government or to the emirs and army, except a very small proportion assigned to religious purposes etc. (A) The government received (1) for the wazîr's exchequer, the taxes from the land of Egypt and Mantah in money and kind, besides the tithe for the royal and military stables; (2) for the sultan's privy purse (*divân-ol kâhik*), one-fifth of the revenue from Alexandria and its district. (B) The emirs, mamûlûks, and army were assigned (1) the land tax of the remaining towns and districts, varying according to the merits and demerits, and distributed among the recipients according to their rank; (2) the receipts from (a) the customs duties, which were, however, abandoned as unproductive in the last years of Nâsir's reign; (b) the alien customs of Upper Egypt and the Oases, whence the alien was brought to Jûh or Asyûs, and shipped down the Nile to Alexandria and sold, to Greeks chiefly, at 5 to 5½ £ the animal (bull or cow) of which the government (i.e. the emirs and army) used to take a third, but the system was changed c. 1400; (c) the nation known as *Ughays* (near Behnâ), worked since the Turkish days, 100 acres which yielded 100,000 £ a year and in the Bahar district, the alien, being a monopoly, rose to 300 dîrham the hundred, and the sultan took one-third, chiefly for the soldiers' pay; (3) the legal alms, which (though usually contributed by the almoghor himself) were levied by government on the net profits of merchants importing at Alexandria, and from native dealers from Berber; (4) the tribute from protected subjects i.e. Jews and Christians) amounting to 10 to 35 dîrham per head on their persons according to classes—this tax was used for judicial and religious matters; (5) import duties on goods brought by foreigners to Alexandria or Damietta, who paid one-tenth of value to Egypt one-fifth more was exacted, so that goods sometimes paid as much as thirty-five per cent. on their value; (6) inheritance of persons without heirs; (7) profits of coinage, then very reduced. Besides these there were the customs at the ports of 'Ayûdh, Kûwayk, Tôr and Suez, on the Red Sea, amounting to one-seventh of the value, and also on the Syrian caravans. Cf. Wustenfent, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Ägypten*, 1855 II.

one day he rode away to Karak, on the pretext of a pilgrimage and once within the strong castle he announced his abdication. Remonstrances, sincere or not, were vain; he was resolved upon a quiet life, and the emirs had to choose a successor.

Beybars the G'ashnegir, as Master of the Household (*Ustaddar*), had gradually acquired the chief influence. Salâr was indeed viceroy, but Beybars was supported by the whole body of the Burgis or citadel mamlûks, and their power was not to be resisted. They had long been planning to raise him to the throne, and the resignation of Nâsir fixed their intentions. Ei-Melik el Muzaffar Rukn-ed-dîn Beybars (II) el-Mamûr¹ accordingly became sultan. His brief reign was an unmitigated failure. He never had the support of the people, and a succession of low Niles and the resulting scarcity were ignorantly connected in some manner with his mismanagement. A large number of the mamlûk emirs belonged to the party of Salâr, who, although he accepted the office of viceroy, secretly worked against his former colleague. The ex-sultan at Karak was not idle in the meantime. He had retired for repose, he said, but his proceedings showed that he had merely withdrawn from the control of his Egyptian emirs in order to organize a loyal party in Syria. In face of these preparations and signals of revolution all that Beybars did was to make Suleymân el-Mustekfi proclaim his accession anew. But no one respected the faintest "Commander of the Faithful"; the emir Barlughî, a supporter of Beybars, laughed, "Suleymân was the Commander of the Wind"; the people, when they heard the name of Nâsir in the proclamation, shouted "God save him," and when the name of Beybars was read they called out, "We do not want him." The news came that Nâsir had entered Damascus, and had received the homage of the emirs of Syria, of Aleppo, Hamah, Hims, Tripolis, Safed, Jerusalem; that his advanced guard had reached Gaza, and driven back the Egyptian outposts. Beybars had no

¹ A few small copper coins of Beybars II bear the dates 708, 709, parts of which years correspond to 1309.

counter plan, and could command no efficient support. He took the only prudent course, and sent his abdication and submission to the advancing sultan. Nāṣir accepted, pardoned, and offered him the government of Ṣiḥyūn. But meanwhile his fears had so worked upon Beybars that he had fled from Cairo with his mamlūk guard (who soon deserted him), vacillated between several plans of escape, and was finally made a prisoner at Gaza.

¹³¹⁰
Mar. 3 Nāṣir began his third reign,¹ entering Cairo on 3 March, 1310, after eleven months' retirement. Whatever kindly virtues he may have possessed in his youth had been soured and embittered by his unhappy experience. Though only in his twenty-fifth year, he was already a cynic, a double-dealer, and thirsty to revenge the miseries of his boyhood and youth, and to free himself finally from the interference of the powerful emirs. He managed it by trickery and deceit. Beybars, though apparently received into favour, and appointed to a government, was invited to Cairo, and there bow-strung. Nāṣir could not forgive him, among other painful recollections, for having refused him roast goose when he asked for it in his years of humiliation. Salār soon followed his rival: he had aided Nāṣir's restoration and welcomed him handsomely with costly gifts, and in reward was given the small command of Shawbek. Recalled to the capital, he was cast into prison and starved to death. After eight days of hunger, three covered dishes were sent to him by the sultan. The covers were raised, and they proved to be, the first a dish of gold money, the second of silver, and the third of precious stones and pearls. "Praise to God," he said, "who deals me out my chastisement in this life." On the twelfth day he was found dead, with a gnawed-off finger in his mouth. His vast wealth was confiscated to the state, and the income of his estates and properties were reckoned at 1000 *D.* a day. A contemporary historian, who saw the inventory of his effects, stated that the examination of his goods occupied

¹ Coins of Nāṣir's third reign bear the dates, Cairo, 710, (716, 733, 741 (1310-40); Aleppo, 710, 733; Damascus, 733, 735; Tripolis, 717.

four days, and that they found over half a million of dinārs or their value in dirhems, besides chests of precious stones and pearls, silver vessels, dresses, horses, dromedaries, herds of cattle and sheep, and multitudes of slaves. One by one the older emirs who had fought the wars of his father, and had dominated the son in his earlier reigns, were inveigled, betrayed, imprisoned, and executed. Nāṣir had learnt his lesson: he resolved to rule alone and he had no scruples in "cutting off the tall poppies."

His foreign policy followed the precedents of his father Kalā'ūn and Beybars I, except that altered conditions made him eager to draw closer to the Mongols of Persia.



Fig. 66.—Inscription in madrasa of princeṣ Tatar el Hāzilya at Cairo, 1360.

He had requeṣt relations with the Ilkhān Abū-Sa'īd, with whom he concluded a friendly treaty in 1333, and on the break up of the Ilkhānate on Abū-Sa'īd's death, he carried on various negotiations with the candidates for power, and his support was so desired that Sheykh Hasan Buzurg, one of the most powerful of the contending leaders, went so far as to acknowledge Nāṣir's suzerainty in prayers and coinage at Baghdad (1341) in return for the promise of armed assistance, which never

came. Nevertheless, the old friendship with the rival Mongol state, the Golden Horde of Sarāi on the Volga, was maintained and renewed, though the dealings with Persia caused some uneasiness to Uzbek Khān, and Nāsir's proposal to marry the khān's daughter fell through by reason of the extravagance of the dowry demanded from Egypt. A cheaper bride, however, was
 1310 found in a kinswoman of the khān, the lady Tulbiya, whose mausoleum in the eastern Karāfa still bears witness to the alliance, and who is, perhaps, the only princess of the Saracens who has been celebrated by a western poet:—

Mira al Cayro que inclaye tres ciudades
 E el palacio real de Diftibea,
 Las torres, los jardines e heredades
 (Que su espacioso círculo rodea.)

There were, as heretofore many little wars with the Cilician kingdom. At Mekka the ruling sherifs were appointed by Egypt, and supported by troops, not without conflicts, and in 1317 Nāsir's authority was also recognized at Medīna. The sultan himself thrice made the pilgrimage to Mekka with the usual extravagant display of charity. Yemen, independent under the Rasūlid kings, had from time to time sent presents to Cairo, which the sultans were anxious to recognize as tribute, but although an expedition of 5000 Egyptian troops was sent in 1325 at the request of a Rasūlid, whose succession was disputed, it ended in disaster, and southern Arabia was in no sense under the authority of Nāsir. Nubia, under the usurper Kenz-ed-dawla, was equally independent at that time.¹ On the other hand, to the west, the khuṭba was said in the sultan's name at Tripolis and Tunis (1311-17) by the Hafsid king Abū-Zekeryā Yahyā, whom Nāsir had helped to the throne.

¹ Araucana, canto 28.

² The tribe of Kenz had been a thorn in the side of Egypt from the time of Saladin, and there were frequent conflicts with them in the 14th century; they attacked Aswān in 1366, 1383, about 1390, 1396; and after 1403 the district of Aswān ceased for a time to be under Egyptian authority.

Most of these cases of apparent vassalage were due to Egyptian succour during a period of civil war and a disputed succession, and they testify rather to the military efficiency of the mamlūk army than to any permanent extension of the sultan's authority. Egypt had become a factor to be reckoned with whenever complications arose among her neighbours, but she did not expand beyond her normal frontiers, which had long been laid at the Syrian desert, the Euphrates and the



Fig. 67.—Tower in Citadel of Cairo.

Pyramus in the east and north, Sawākin and Aswān in the south and Tripolis in the west. Nāṣir himself was ambitious of empire, but he was no general and feared to arm a possible rival with the command of a large army. He was forced indeed to suppress a revolt of the Druzes and Nuṣeyrīs by force, and to wage war with Little Armenia ; but he trusted rather to diplomacy to

extend his influence. His negotiations in the north procured him the adhesion of Artina of Asia Minor and the chief of Dhū-l-Kadr. "He continually exchanged embassies with the Mongols of Kipchak, as well as those of Persia with the kings of the Yemen and Abyssinia and West Africa, with the emperors of Constantinople and the kings of Bulgaria. Even the sultan of India, the king of Aragon, the pope, and the king of France sent envoys to his court. The missions of the Byzantine emperors, often repeated [e.g. 1317, 1326] were apparently designed to negotiate an alliance with Nāṣir against the Turkmāns who were growing constantly stronger about this time in Asia Minor, and already threatened the East Roman empire. The sultan of Hindustan, who sent an embassy to Nāṣir in 1331-2 by way of Baghdad was Mohammad ibn Tughlak, who was meditating the conquest of eastern Persia, and probably wished to engage Nāṣir in a simultaneous attack on the Mongol kingdom in western Persia. In 1327 an envoy from the pope arrived to urge him to treat his Christian subjects humanely promising in return to protect, as far as possible, Mohammedan subjects living in Christendom from annoyance. Philip VI of France sent an embassy in 1330 . . . demanding that Nāṣir should deliver up Jerusalem and part of the coast of Palestine to the Christians, it was naturally dismissed with scorn."¹

The Christians were better used under Nāṣir's third reign than before, and the sultan endeavoured to relax the humiliating decree of 1301, as far as he could, not without exciting the wrath of the theologians and fanatical fakīhs. He protected the churches from destruction, and refused to believe that every fire or other calamity must be due to Christian conspiracy, as the bigoted Muslims said. But fanaticism was too strong for him; 20,000 men assembled on the meydān and clamoured: "The only true religion is Islām; God shield the faith of Mohammad! O sultan of Islām, protect us, not the unbelieving Christians!" Nāṣir

¹ Weil, iv. 352-4.

surrendered to public opinion, and the former decree was enforced again on pain of death. The Christians closed

their churches, and dared not show themselves, unless in disguise.¹ They had undoubtedly burnt many mosques and houses, and in revenge the Muslims demolished scores of their churches and monasteries. Still the sultan used his influence in their favour, whenever there was an opportunity, and his vezirs, several of whom were Christians who had become nominally Muslims, exerted themselves for their old associates, whilst they bled the Mohammedan subjects as far as taxation could go. Nâsir employed Christians, i.e. Copts, as all Egyptian governments have em-

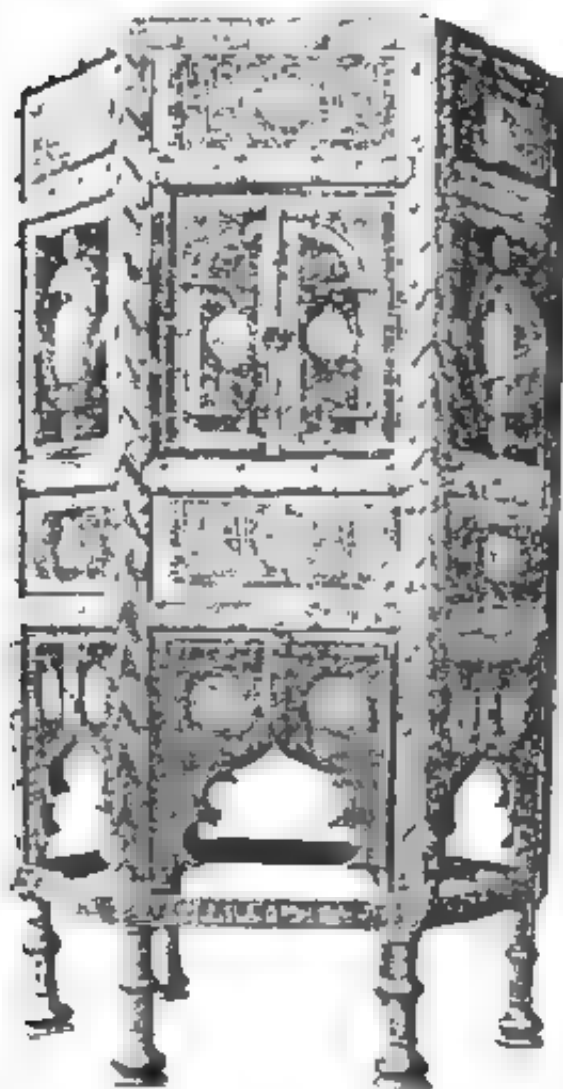


Fig. 68.—Kura of en-Nâsir, 14th century, in the Cairo Museum.

ployed them, because they were better men of business

¹ The best account of the state of the Christians under the mamlûk sultans—merely incidental to the present work—is in Quatremère's *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ii. 220-66. The émeute of 1321 alone occupies twenty-four pages, and it is impossible to give the details in a brief space.

than the Muslims, and also because they were not dangerous to his throne, as were the great Muslim officers, against whom he was perpetually on his guard, and whom he used with cruel severity.

On the other hand, his humbler servants and officers, and the bulk of the people of Egypt were well off under his rule. Many oppressive taxes—on salt, for example, on chickens, on sugar-cane, on boats and their passengers, on slaves, horses, etc.—were repealed, and the loss was made up by mulcting the great nobles. He ordered a new survey of the land and its revenues, and out of the twenty-four divisions of the country, he assigned ten to the state and the other fourteen to the emirs and army, according to rank. He combated the extravagant prices which prevailed in times of scarcity, and had millers and bakers flogged who charged too highly, imported corn from Syria and fixed its market price, and compelled the emirs to open their granaries to public sale, instead of selling their corn privily at exorbitant rates. His muhtemb or inspector of markets, Diyâ-ed-din Yûsuf, an upright and fearless man, reported any evasions to the sultan, who publicly rated the great emir Kawsân, his own son-in-law, struck him over the head with the flat of his sword, and had the emir's factor flogged in his presence. These vigorous measures had their effect, and a moderate price for corn prevailed. Nasir was strict in suppressing wine-drinking and every sort of immorality, and his punishments were as barbarous and primitive as his methods of confiscation were sweeping and illegal. Sometimes, indeed, the judges found it necessary to remonstrate with his high-handed proceedings, and they were sure of a hearing. Learned men found an appreciative patron in the cool calculating sultan, whose intellect was of no mean order. The learned historian Abû-l-Fidâ, a prince descended from Saladin's brother, was his intimate friend. Nasir restored him (1310) to his ancestors' principedom of Hamah, revived the ancient titles and privileges of his family, took him with him on pilgrimage to Mekka, made the Syrian governors treat him as a sultan,

himself addressed him as "brother," and continued to love and honour him till his death (1331). The age was rich in learned men, and they enjoyed every mark of respect and not inconsiderable emoluments under Nāṣir's rule.

It was an age of extraordinary brilliance in almost every aspect. In spite of the occasional records of

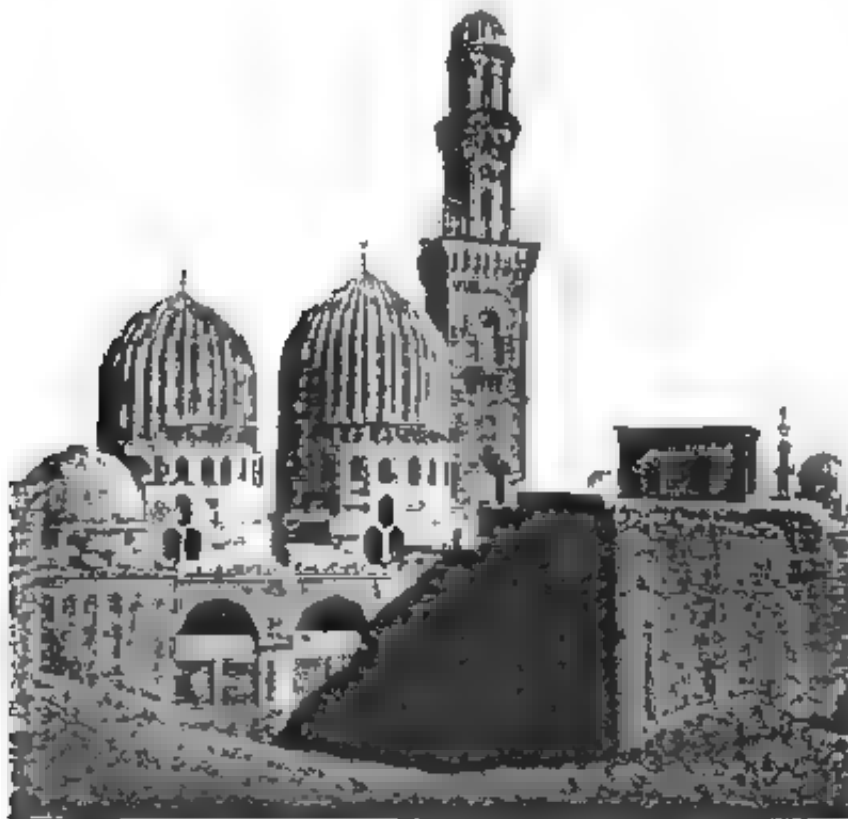


Fig. 69.—Mosque of Sengar and Salār, 1323.

scarcity and high prices, the wealth of the country, whether from its fertile soil, or from the ever-increasing trade with Europe and the east, was immense, if the fortunes of individuals are any test. The accounts of the almost fabulous prodigality of the emirs of the time in

the Arabic chronicles show their vast resources, and the thirty or more magnificent mosques built by Nāsir's emirs—such as Sengar el-G'āwalī, Kawqūn, el-Mārdānī, Aḥsunkur, Sheykhū, to name but a few whose monuments are still standing, are proof that they sometimes spent their wealth to good purpose.¹ The architecture of this period is perhaps the finest in the history of Saracenic art in Egypt. The minor arts were never cultivated in greater perfection. Beautiful bowls, perfume-bearers, caskets, Korān-cases, and *kursis* or small tables, were made of bronze or brass, often cut out *à jour*, and inlaid with admirably chased designs in silver. Enamelled glass lamps, illuminated Korāns, carved wooden panels, painted ceilings, and every kind of decoration, were worked at this period in greater

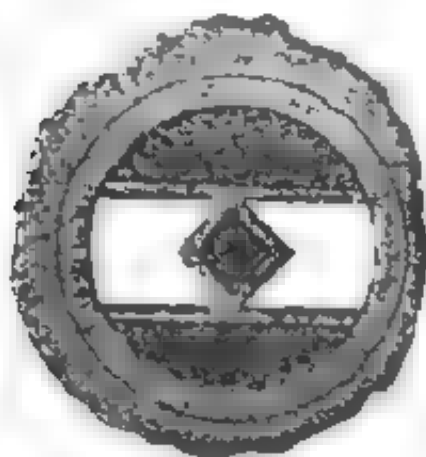


Fig. 70.—Arm of emir el-Mārdānī, 14th century, from a glass lamp.

perfection than ever before or since. When a beautiful example of the finest Saracenic art is preserved in our museums, we are almost sure to find in its inscription the words *el-Melkī en-Nāsirī*, "the (mamlūk) of el Melk en-Nāsir."

The sultan himself led the way in these civilized tastes. Some of his own furniture—or that of his mosques—has been preserved, and his two chief buildings, the Nāsirīya college in the Sūk-en-Naḥ-

ḥasin (corresponding to part of the old Beyn-el-Kaḥreyn), built in 1299-1304, and his mosque (1318) in the Citadel of Cairo, are among the most notable of Saracenic

¹ Ibn-Batūta, who visited Cairo in 1326, writes of the emulation of the emirs in building mosques, chapels, and especially mentions their monasteries (*khānakāh*—such as that of Beybars II, still standing), where *fakirs*, chiefly Persian *ḫū* in, lived in retreat, under strict rules. Separate monasteries, he says, were allowed to married devotees. He describes Nāsir as "of noble character and great virtues," refers to his benevo-

monuments. His exquisite palace in the Citadel, the *Kasr el-Abak*, or Striped Palace, so called from its tiers of black and white stone, which cost 500,000,000 dirhems (founded 1313) has unhappily disappeared; the "Hall of Columns" was standing early in this century. The Citadel, indeed, was largely reconstructed in 1312 and following years, and a number of new buildings



Fig. 71.—Hall of Columns built by el-Nâsir in Citadel of Cairo, 1313.

added.¹ He was reckoned to spend at one time 8000 dirhems (about £300) a day on building. Among the

lence to pilgrims, and his sitting twice a week to hear personally all complaints and petitions, and gives a short list of the chief emirs and men of learning. His account is lamentably meagre, and instead of valuable statistics he informs us that there were said to be 12,000 water-carriers on camels, 30,000 bath-masters, and 36,000 boats on the Nile. (Ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, i. 67 ff.)

¹ See Casanova in *Dict. de la litt. archéol. française*, vi. 619-665.

public works of his reign was the Alexandrian canal, which connected the port with the Nile at Fūwa, and contributed greatly to the commerce and fertility of the country, and to the revival of the neglected Greek capital. The great causeway he constructed beside the Nile served at once as a road and a dam during the inundation. The aqueduct from the Nile to the Citadel of Cairo was the work of this sultan (1311), though popularly ascribed to Saladin. To carry out his schemes, and indulge his tastes, he needed immense revenues, and the money was not lacking. He married

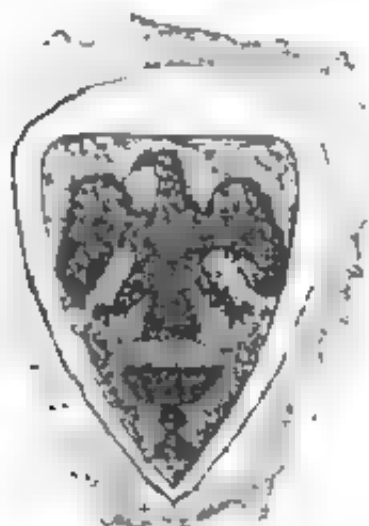


Fig. 72 — Arms of emir Tukuz-demir, from a lamp in the British Museum, 14th century.

eleven of his daughters to leading emirs, and each wedding cost him 800,000*D.*; the music alone came to 10,000 *D.* for each *file*. He was a judge of horses, and would give as much as a million dirhems (£1000) for a fine animal. He kept of course a proper stud book, and knew the name, age, price, and pedigree of every horse. Three thousand fillies annually foaled in his stables were broken in by Bedawis, to be given to the emirs or entered for races, for which he was an ardent trainer. Nāṣir was a farmer,

too, and would import sheep of good breeds for his flock of 30,000 kept in the Citadel. He was a sportsman, devoted to falconry, and his huntsmen, falconers, and gamekeepers held no unimportant rank in his court, and received handsome vales. He was also a collector of precious stones, but this was the ordinary mode of amassing portable and easily negotiable capital. Whilst encouraging luxury and profusion in his court, he wore no jewels himself and dressed in the simplest and least expensive way. This self-possessed, iron-willed

man,—absolutely despotic, ruling alone—physically insignificant, small of stature, lame of a foot, and with a cataract in the eye,—with his plain dress and strict morals, his keen intellect and unwearied energy, his enlightened tastes and interests, his shrewd diplomacy degenerating into fruitless deceit, his unsleeping suspicion and cruel vengeance, his superb court, his magnificent buildings,—is one of the most remarkable characters of the Middle Ages. His reign was certainly the climax of Egyptian culture and civilization.¹

Unhappily when he died, confessing his sins, in 1341, at the age of nearly fifty-eight, he left no successor capable of carrying on his work. The confidence of the people in his firm government, and their apprehensions of what would follow, was shown in the panic with which, at the bare rumour of his decease, they closed their

1341
June 6

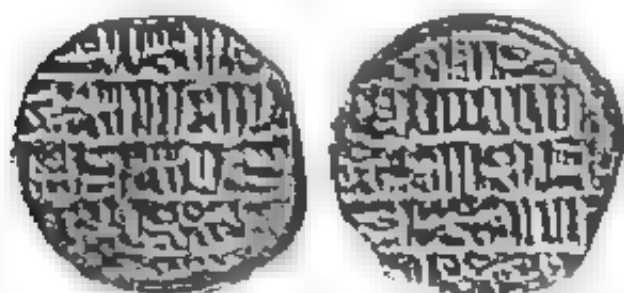


Fig. 73.—Dinār of en-Nāṣir, Cairo, 1340.

shops and laid in provisions for the time of need. His emirs gathered round his bed, and declared solemnly that "they were the mamluks of his house, and so long as even a blind daughter of it remained they would support it to the death." For forty-one years, indeed, twelve descendants² of Nāṣir rapidly succeeded to the throne, but

¹ The best European account of Nāṣir's reign is in the careful *Geschichte der Chansfen*, by Weil, founded upon Maḳrīzī, Abū-l-Mahāsīn, and most of the available Arabic sources. It has been epitomized, unfortunately with many errors, by Sir W. Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*.

² Of these successors, the coins are as follows:—es-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl, Cairo, 744; Damascus, 743, 744; Hamāh, 746; Aleppo, no date; el-Kāmil Shā'bān, Cairo, 747; Damascus, 746; el-Muzaḥḥar Ḥāggī, Cairo, 747; Damascus, 747 (Dhū-l-Ḥijja); en-Nāṣir Ḥasan (first reign), Cairo, 748, 749, 750, 752; Damascus, 749, 750; es-Šāliḥ Šāḥ, Cairo, 752, 753, 754; Damascus, 756; Ḥasan (second reign),

they cannot be said to have ruled. Eight sons, two grandsons, and two great-grandsons followed one another. Some were mere children, some held the title of sultan for a few months, one son, Ḥasan, was kept on the throne for four years, and was restored for six years more; one grandson, Sha'bān, even retained the title of sultan for fourteen years. But when they were not helpless children they were commonly helpless debauchees, and the real power was in the hands of the great emirs, of whom Kūsūn (or Kawṣūn, a Mongol follower of Nāsir's Kipchak bride), Tāshtemir, Akṣunḡur, Sheykhū, Yelbughā and Ḥarghitnush, were the most prominent.

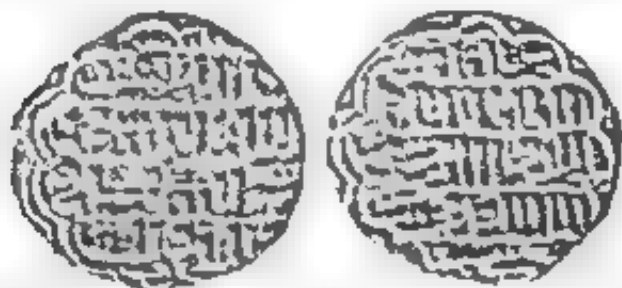


Fig. 74 --Dinar of sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, 1349.

The court remained as luxurious and extravagant as ever, the emirs continued to amass wealth and to build exquisite mosques and palaces, and

the prestige of Egypt still held the respect of foreign powers. But the contests of the emirs and the anarchy that ensued brought the empire to financial straits, and the pilgrimage to Mekka was more than once abandoned for lack of state funds; though money seems never to have been lacking for the singers and slave girls of the palace. Sheykhū endeavoured spasmodically to stem the tide of dissolution, reduced expenses, allowed the sultan Ḥasan only £4 a day, repressed the Bedawi brigands who infested the Nile valley; but the visitation of the plague in

Cairo, 754, 756, 757, [758], 759, 760, 761, Alexandria, 756, [759], Damascus, 758, 760, 761, 762; el-Manṣūr Nohammad, Cairo, 761, 762, 763, 764, Damascus, 763; el-Ashraf Sha'bān, Cairo, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 773, 774, 776, Alexandria, 766, 777, Damascus, 766, 771, 773, 774, 777, Aleppo, Hamāh, Tripolis, without legible dates, el-Manṣūr 'Aī, Cairo, 779, 781, Damascus, 778, 780, 781, 782, Aleppo, 778; es-Ṣāliḥ Ḥāggī, Damascus, Aleppo, without dates; Damascus, 792, with title el-Manṣūr.

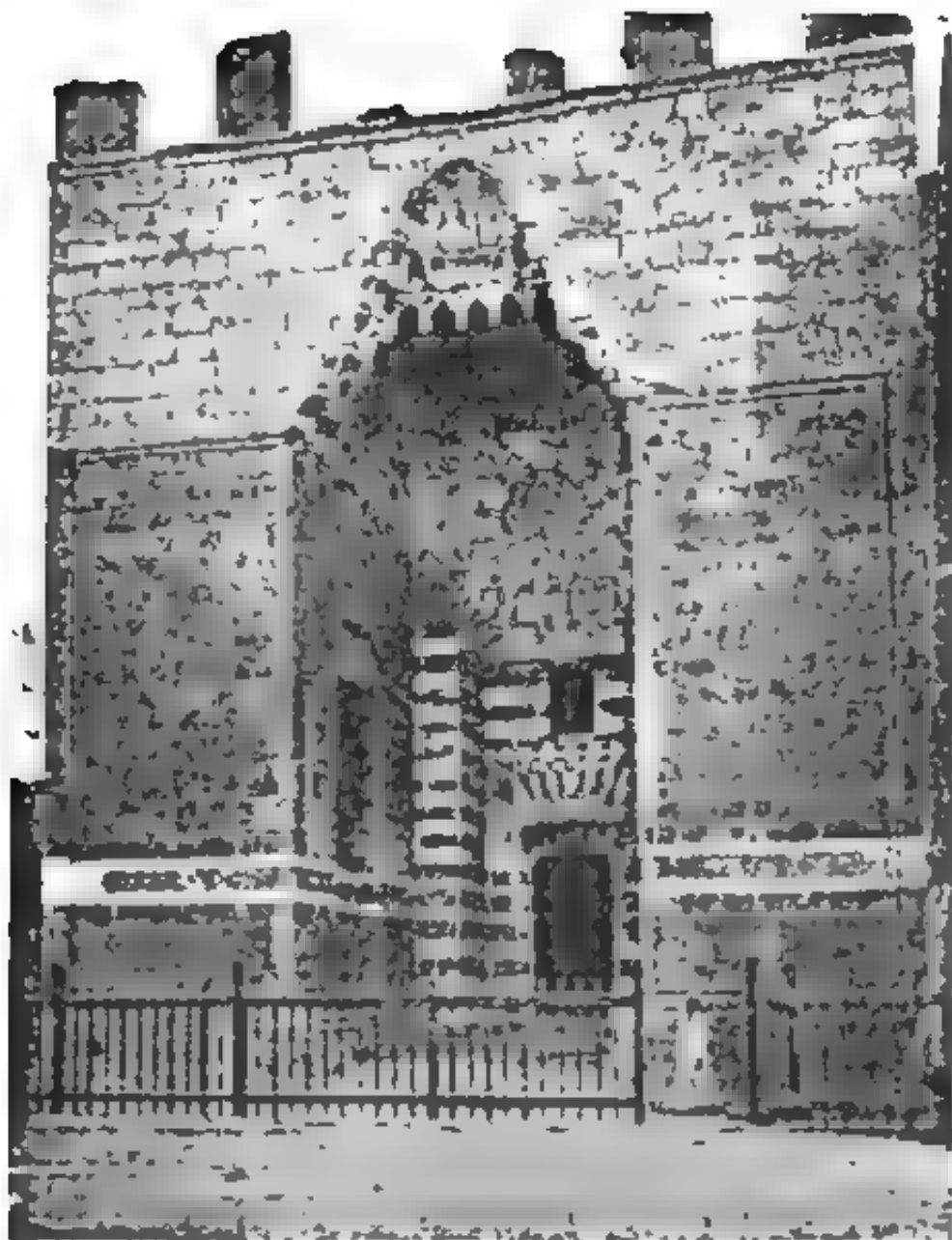


Fig. 75.—Palace of emir Yeshbek at Cairo, 1476, adjoining mosque of sultan Hasan

1348-9—the same “Black Death” that spread over Europe at this time—reduced the country to a desperate state, 10,000 to 20,000 people died in Cairo in a single day; cattle murrain and fruit disease accompanied the plague, the fish of the river were poisoned, cities were emptied and the land laid waste.

Of external affairs there is little to record in the brief reigns of Nāṣir's descendants.

- 1179 A little victory at Mekka over the king of the Yemen, another at Singār in Mesopotamia over a Kurdish band of brigands, a temporary adhesion of a rebel governor at Baghdād, who struck coins as a vassal of Egypt (1365), a punitive expedition against the marauding Bedawis in Upper Egypt, and another (supplied by boats which were carried over the first cataract) into Nubia with a similar object (1365), the customary attacks upon Little
- 1339 Armenia (where Adhana, Tarsus, and el-Massisa were taken, and the first two garrisoned), were of small importance. The de-
- 1365 Oct. scent of a hostile European fleet upon Alexandria was a new experience after more than a century of rest from Crusading zeal. Peter of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, supported by the knights of Rhodes and the Genoese and Venetians, suddenly landed 12,000 men, seized Alexandria, plundered it, and sailed away with 5000 prisoners. The Christians of Egypt were made to pay their ransoms and subscribe for the building of a fleet at Cairo and Tripolis. Again in 1369 the Cyprian fleet attacked Tripolis and appeared off Alexandria, but to little



Fig. 76. Memorial inscription in tomb of sultan Hasan, 1384.

purpose, and after some negotiation peace was made with Cyprus and the republics. More significant were the hostilities with the Turkman chiefs of Dhū l-Ḳadr, on the northern frontier of Syria, whereby some useful auxiliaries, who had guarded the marches, were con-



Fig. 77 — Mosque of sultan Ḥasaa, 1362, from the Citadel.

verted into enemies—the forerunners of the Turks who conquered Egypt a hundred and forty years later.

There could be but one end to the series of puppets who had figured as nominal sultans since Nāṣir's death. Some emir, more powerful and fortunate than the rest, would

Y

seize the throne, as Beybars and Kalā ūn had seized it a century ago. The man appeared in Barkūk, who after disposing of one after the other of his competitors, dethroned the last of Kalā ūn's house in 1382, and founded the dynasty of the Burgi or Circassian sultans. The only wonder was that so feeble a line as Nāṣir's descendants should have survived so long in so stormy a world.

CHAPTER XI

THE CIRCASSIAN MAMLÛKS

1382—1517

Authorities—El-Makrizi, *Abû-l-Mahmûd, Hân-lyân, el Kalkashandî*,
Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v. von Hammer, *Les écrivains Arabes*, in
Monuments in Egypt.—Tombs of Anas, father of Barkûk, 1381,
Meir'esa id emir Aynûsh, 1383; Meir' Barkûk, 1386 Meir' em.
Inâl-el-Yûsuf, 1392; Meir' em. Maktûk, 1395; Meir' em. Sûdûn,
1402; Meir' Uema-ed-dîn, 1408; Khânakâh and tombs of Farag and
Barkûk, 14011; Meir' Farag; Meir' em. 'Adîl-el-Dîn, 1413;
Mu'ayyad, Mârimân, 1418, and M., 1420, Meir' Kâfi Atîl-el-Dîn,
1420, Hân-Bey, Meir', 1424. Khânakâh and T., 1432, M. at el-
Khânkâh, 1437 M. em. G'ânî Bek, 1437; M. dr. em. Fawâs, 1447,
Meir' em. Taghî-Bekî 1440, M. em. Hân-Bey, 1441 M. and T.
Kâfi Yahyâ, 1444, 1446; M. G'ânî-Bek, 1446; Meir', Khânkâh, and
T. Inâl, 1451-6; T. em. G'ânî-Bek, 1465; M. em. Sûdûn, c. 1466;
Meir' em. Kârim, c. 1466; M. em. Timûr, 1472; M. em. Usûk
(Fakî), 1475; Palace em. Yûsuf, 1476;—Kât Bey, Meir' and T.,
1474, Meir'. *Other names*, 1475, Wukâla near Azhar, 1477, restor. of
bridge of G'ânî, 1479, castle (Burj es Zafar), on site of old pharos at
Alexandria, 1479, Sebîl, 1479, Wukâla near Zâh-em Nâs, 1480,
Wukâla in Sarâ'iya, c. 1480, T. el-Fadawîya, c. 1481, Palace, 1484,
Meir'ân, 1485, restor. of southern gates, 1486, Meir' at Kadi, 1491,—
Meir' em. G'ânî 1478, Meir' Kâfi Abû Bekî in Azhar, 1480;
M. em. Kigîmâ, 1481, Meir' em. Usûk (Fakî) el Yûsuf, 1493;
Palace of em. Mûmây (Bey el-Kâfi), 1496; T. es Zâhîr Kâsîr,
1499; M. prince Asâl-Bey, wife of Kâfi Bey, in Fayyûm, 1499;
T. el-Adîl Lûmân-Bey, 1501; M. em. Atîs Bek, 1502, Meir'.
Kâfi Bek emir Ashur 1503—Kâsîr-el-Ghûl, Meir' 1503, T. 1504,
restor. of aqueduct to Citadel c. 1506, M. near Citadel, 1510, Gates of
Khân-el-Khânî—Tombs of Tâh Bey, Kemek Sûcûl, 1504-5, Meir'.
Kâfi-Bek Kâra, 1506.

Inscriptions in L.P.M.—On monuments enumerated above; solar
quadrant in M. Kawsûn, 1383; decree of Kân'emir in T. Kâfi em.
1389; inser. Barkûk in Citadel, 1389; 'Abd-el-'Azîz in T. of Farag,
1405, 1406; wakf act in Meir' Hân-Bey, 1424, and Khânkâh, 1431;
tablet of Sebîl of Hân-Bey in Schefer collection, 1433; G.âfîyah in
Fayyûm, 1441, in Citadel, 1448, and in Meir' Barkûk; solar ghoran
in M. Mu'ayyad; solar quadrant in Meir' Inâl, 1466, epitaph of princess
Shâhrû, daughter of Farag, in her tomb, 1462; inser. of Kâfi-Bey in

name, 1483, and in Azhar, 1469, 1495; Tūmān-Bey in Citadel, 1501; el-Ghūrī on castle of Kāt-Bey at Alexandria, 1501, in Azhar (M. van Berchem, *Corp. Inscr. Arab.*, iii., proof sheets).

Inscriptions in Syria.—Barkūk in Kubbat-es-Sakhra and on a khla at Jerusalem, on great mosques of Gaza and Ba'albekk, acropolis of Ba'albekk, citadel of Aleppo; Mu'ayyad, in mosque at Gaza, on wall and hospital of Aleppo, portico of gr. M. at Damascus and his own M.; Ahmad, decree in haram, Jerusalem; Bars-Bey, decrees in Kubbat-es-Sakhra Jerusalem, in gr. M. of Damascus and Tripolis, and on castle of Sheyzer, and inscr. on bridge at Sheyzer; G'akmak, inscr. in his meidr at Damascus, decrees on Asmerias convent, Jerusalem, in the haram, and in gr. M. of Damascus; Ināl, decrees in the gr. M. of Damascus, Tripolis, and Ba'albekk; Khushkadam, on citadel of Damascus; Kāt-Bey, numerous inscr. and decrees at Jerusalem and in gr. M. of Damascus, Tripolis Ba'albekk, Hamāh, and several inscr. on citadel of Aleppo; Mohammad b. Kāt-Bey, inscr. on citadel of Damascus and in gr. M. of Gaza; el-'Adil Tūmān-Bey, several decrees at Damascus (MSS. notes of M. van Berchem).

Coins (see under reigns), *armorial bearings*, *enamelled glass lamps*, *bowls and other vessels*, etc.

BURGI' MAMLŪKS.

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Ez-Zahir Seyf-ed-din Barkūk | Nov., 1382 |
| [Interrupted by el-Manṣūr Hāqī June 1389—Feb. 1390] | |
| En-Nāṣir Nāṣir-ed-din Farāq b. Barkūk | June, 1399 |
| El-Manṣūr 'Im-ed-din 'Abd-el-'Azīz b. Barkūk | Sept., 1405 |
| En-Nāṣir Farāq (again) | Dec., 1405 |
| El-'Adil el-Musta'in ('Abdāsd caliph) | May, 1412 |
| El-Mu'ayyad Shaykh | Nov., 1412 |
| El-Muṣaffar Ahmad b. Shaykh | Jan., 1421 |
| Ez-Zahir Seyf-ed-din Tatar | Aug., 1421 |
| Es-Salīp Nāṣir-ed-din Moḥammad b. Tatar | Nov., 1422 |
| El-Ashraf Seyf-ed-din Bars-Bey | April, 1422 |
| El-Azīz G'emāl-ed-din Yūsuf b. Bars-Bey | June, 1438 |
| Ez-Zahir Seyf-ed-din G'akmak | Sept., 1438 |
| El-Manṣūr Faḫr-ed-din 'Othmān b. G'akmak | Feb., 1452 |
| El-Ashraf Seyf-ed-din Ināl | Mar., 1453 |
| El-Mu'ayyad Shihāb-ed-din Ahmad b. Ināl | Feb., 1461 |
| Ez-Zahir Seyf-ed-din Khushkadam | June, 1461 |
| Ez-Zahir Seyf-ed-din Yel-Bey | Oct., 1467 |
| Ez-Zahir Timārbughā | Dec., 1467 |
| El-Ashraf Seyf-ed-din Kāt-Bey | Jan., 1468 |
| En-Nāṣir Moḥammad b. Kāt-Bey | Aug., 1496 |
| Ez-Zahir Kānsūh | Oct., 1498 |
| El-Ashraf G'āshālī | June, 1500 |
| El-'Adil Tūmān-Bey | Jan., 1501 |
| El-Ashraf Kānsūh-el-Ghūrī | April, 1501 |
| El-Ashraf Tūmān-Bey | Oct., 1516 |
| | —Jan., 1517 |

THE second dynasty of mamlūk sultans differed from the first chiefly in race and in the absence of any hereditary succession such as was gradually established in the earlier dynasty, in the family of Kalān. The Burğī sultans were all Circassians by race, save two (Khūsh-kadam and Timurbugha) who were of Greek origin; and none of them was able to establish the hereditary principle in his family. They were in fact rather head-mamluks or chief emirs than kings in the absolute sense understood in the east. The Circassian sultan was but *primus inter pares* elected by his fellow mamluks, and depending for the tenure of his power upon his skill in managing the military oligarchy which was the real authority of the kingdom. His success or failure was in proportion to his tact or diplomacy, and still more to his liberality, and to the divisions among the several factions of the mamluks. Each sultan's followers, after his death, formed a distinct party, known by his regnal title (as Ashrafiā, Nāṣiri, Muṣṭafidī, Zahirī), and animated by a strong *esprit de corps* and a determination to win and keep as much power and wealth as possible. By manoeuvring with these parties, forming coalitions or fostering jealousies, by intrigues and bribes, an emir would contrive to be elected sultan; but when on the throne, he found himself little better than a delegate of his insubordinate electors, over whom he seldom maintained much discipline. If he held the throne till his death, his son usually succeeded him for a few months, less in deference to any hereditary tradition referring to earlier times, than for the purpose of acting as a buffer between the ambitions of rival emirs. The son kept the throne warm, whilst the leading nobles fought for the succession; and when the best man won, the "warming-pan" was put away. As a rule he was either placed in honourable confinement, or even allowed to live freely and openly in some Egyptian city, and was seldom put to death in the old fashion. Of the twenty-three sultans of this dynasty, the reigns of six cover 103 out of the total 114 years, and the reigns of nine—Barḡūk, Farāḡ, Sheykh, Bars-Bey, G'āḡmak, Ināl, Khūsh-kadam, Kāl-

Rey, and Kânsûh el-Ghûri, amount to 115 years, leaving but nine years for the other fourteen sultans.

It is with these nine sultans that history has chiefly to do: the rest were ciphers, but the nine were all remarkable men, as indeed their success in winning and keeping their power for eight, sixteen, or even twenty-six years implies. It needed no ordinary abilities to hold even a partial authority over rival emirs and seditious manûks for any length of time. Their abilities, however, were seldom those of the warrior-king. They often sought their way to the throne over the corpses of rivals, but once there they seldom led their armies in the field, and Farag' was perhaps the only Circassian sultan who was conspicuously a general. Several of them—as Barkûk, Sheikh, Gâknak, Kâit Bey, besides the short-reigned Tâur and Timûrbughî—were much attached to literature and the society of the learned; they were strict, sometimes even austere, Muslims, and many of their pious foundations, mosques, colleges, hospitals, and schools, still bear eloquent witness to their aesthetic refinement. Perhaps the costly elaboration of such exquisite architectural gems as the mosques of Barkûk and Kâit-Bey were intended to atone for the many acts of barbarity and oppression of which the Circassian sultans were commonly guilty. Barkûk caused his rival, Mintâsh, to be "put to the question" in order to make him reveal his hidden treasure: the wretched emir's limbs were broken one after the other, he was tried by fire, tortured with infernal ingenuity, but all in vain, at last he was put out of his agony, and his head was displayed on a lance through the towns of Syria and exposed at the gate of Zawila at Cairo. Other conspirators were nailed to camel saddles and paraded through the streets till they died. For such deeds Barkûk's lovely medresa and noble mausoleum were all too small an atonement. His savage cruelty was emulated by his successors.

Egypt indeed suffered grievously under their sway. The perpetual conflicts of the divided factions of mamûks, the street fights, the unbridled license of the

dominant soldiery, produced a reign of terror. The *mamlûks* had, of course, no bowels for the afflicted populace. They were all foreigners, though not necessarily Circassians, for Barkûk after a conspiracy among his Circassian followers, recruited his *mamlûks* from Greek, Turkish, and Mongolian slaves. The multitude of these mercenary pests may be judged from the fact that Barkûk himself purchased 3000; and when a revolt of Bedawis and peasants in Upper and Lower Egypt was repressed by 7000 *mamlûks* riding over the country, the horrors of the process may be left to the imagination.

So debauched were the soldiery that even under Bars-Bey, the strongest of the Circassian sultans, it was impossible to allow women to appear in the streets, wedding processions were prohibited, and women who tried to go forth to attend funerals or visit the tombs of their dead were driven back by force. The peasants often dared not bring their country produce and cattle to the Cairo markets, lest it should be seized by the *mamlûks*, or taken by the government at a compulsory rate to supply the palace, which in Bars-Bey's time required 1200 lb of meat a day. The government was corrupt and ineffectual, justice was awarded to the highest bidder. In the reign of el-Murayyad, the very *Sheykh-el-Islâm*, the head of the law, stole trust-money—he was a Persian from Herat and could not speak Arabic; his ignorance was exposed in a public disputation in Murayyad's mosque, and he was dismissed. In Alexandria about the same time the fisher-folk took the law into their own hands against their oppressors; they shaved one side of the deputy governor's face, like the men of Jericho, paraded him through the streets on a camel, escorted by singers and musicians, and then killed him. They made the governor himself stand naked before a judge, and beat him to death. But such successful execution of lynch-law was rare, and as a rule the people were forced to suffer without redress or vengeance. The country was frequently in revolt, especially where the Bedawi tribes were settled, and when the oppressive taxation and conscription for the wars, and the general anarchy and

insecurity of life and property, often aggravated by plague and famine, drove the people to desperation; but the rebellions only led to worse suffering, cruel reprisals, and a bloody stamping out of sedition by the implacable mamlûks. In the time of Farag the population was said to be reduced to one third of its normal number.

The sultans were really powerless to restrain their own guards. Some of the worst excesses referred to occurred under Murayyad Shейkli, who was personally a devout man and a learned, a good musician, poet, and orator, scrupulous in the observance of the rules of his religion, very simple and unpretentious in his dress and mode of life, bearing himself in all religious functions as a plain Muslim among fellow worshippers and robing himself in common white wool in mourning for the pestilence that ravaged the land. He spent little on himself, but 400,000 *D.* on the mosque which he built on the site of a gaol where he had suffered captivity; a hospital and other institutions showed his charitable soul. But, for all this, he had no hold over the ministers or the people, and though he flogged the oppressors he could not protect the oppressed. His piety was forgotten in his indecision, and his unsuccessful currency experiments outweighed his virtues; and when he died at the age of fifty-two, though there were over a million dinârs in his treasury, he was buried without followers, without a shroud, without even a towel for the lavage of the corpse. Anxiety for the succession drowned all solicitude for the dead.

A later sultan, Khûshkadam, belonging to the degenerate race of the mediæval Greeks, frankly recognized the impossibility of restraining his own servants, and turned their corruption and violence to his personal advantage. He played off one faction against another, Zâhirîs against Ashrafiis, or Nâqirîs against Murayyadis, as it might happen, and thus nullifying their power, left the field free for the riotous debauchery of his own mamlûks, who murdered and ravished and plundered almost as they pleased. This crafty Greek

knew how to make the most out of the mammon of unrighteousness. Official posts were openly sold; the governor of Tripolis paid 45,000 *D.* to be promoted to Damascus, and his vacant post was purchased by another emir for 10,000 *D.* whilst Safed went cheap at 4000 *D.* Worse still, Khūshkadam took bribes from mamūks for the privilege of torturing and killing their personal rivals. An unpopular vezir was scourged, tortured, and at last executed without trial, after his enemies had greased the sultan's palm with 75,000 *D.* Unquestionably he made them pay for their pleasures. When he was short of money, he would make a call in state upon some wealthy noble, and before the visit was ceremoniously completed the unlucky entertainer was handsomely fleeced.

In spite of sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion, in

spite of frequent civil wars, constant factions, and invincible corruption, the Circassian sultans and their mamūks evidently possessed the faculty of collective self-preservation, and knew how to keep their quarrels to themselves without letting in the foreigner. Infamous as was their government, and apparently suicidal their mutual jealousies, they were

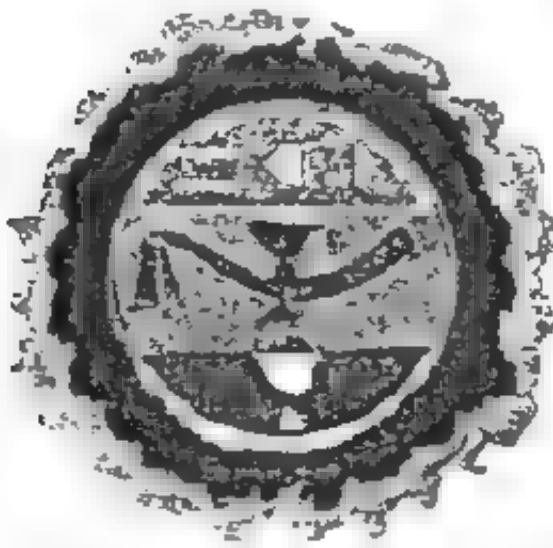


Fig. 78.—Arms of an emir inlaid in ivory and coloured woods.

a splendid soldiery, and thus continued not only to hold Egypt, and generally Syria, for a century and a third, but to beat off one seemingly overwhelming invasion and several minor assaults. When all western Asia was trembling under the shock of Timūr's portentous conquests, the mamūks of Egypt braved and defeated

him. Yet the political situation at the time of his approach was singularly unfavourable for solid resistance. Barkūk, the first of the Circassian sultans, had indeed
 1382
 Nov. 26
 deposed the last of the Bahri dynasty, the child Hāgg,

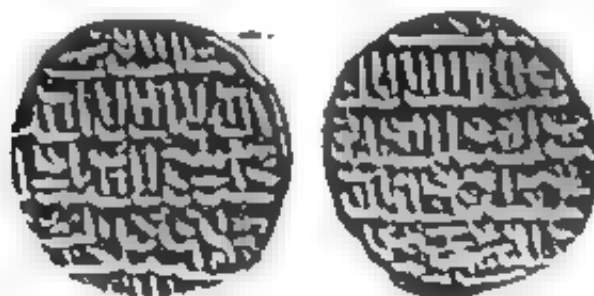


Fig. 79.—Dinar of Barkūk, Aleppo, 1385.

without difficulty, and had been accepted as sultan throughout Egypt and Syria. But a year later a conspiracy to set up the caliph Muta-
 wekkil in his place shook his authority, and though

the plot was suppressed with extreme severity, the disaffection, which had spread to north Syria grew apace. Headed by Mintāsh and Yelbughā, the governors of Malatya and Aleppo, and supported by the Mongols and Turkumāns on the northern frontier, the rebels routed
 1389
 Apr. 17
 the Egyptian army near Damascus, entered the Syrian capital, and marched upon Cairo, where Barkūk, who had lost all presence of mind, after repealing all taxes, arming the raw population, barricading the streets, and entrenching the Citadel, burst into tears and took refuge in a tailor's shop.

The rebels plundered Cairo, and re-established the
 June 1 boy Hāggi on the nominal throne, after which they fell out among themselves, and Mintāsh and Yelbughā, from the roof of the mosque of sultan Hasan and the opposite battlements of the Citadel, pounded each other, and paved the way for the counter-revolution which Barkūk was preparing in Syria. Escaping from the fortress of Karak
 1390 he raised an army, discomfited the rebels near Sarkhab, took Hāggi and the caliph prisoners, and entered Cairo in
 Feb. 1 triumph; the garrison and people came out to welcome him, the Jews bearing their Tora and the Christians their Gospels; tapers were lighted and carpets spread in his honour. The young sultan Hāggi was again deposed, but permitted to live in comfort in the Citadel till his

death in 1412, in spite of the trouble he caused by his extreme brutality to his female slaves, whose shrieks he endeavoured to drown in the uproar of songs and merriment. The next two years were occupied in



Fig. 80.—Pulpit (minbar) in tomb-mosque of Barkūk outside Cairo, 1401-11.

reducing the rebels under Mintāsh in Syria, and hardly was this accomplished when Timūr's invasion threatened the horizon. The conqueror took Baghdād in August, 1393, overran Mesopotamia in 1394, annexing territory

(such as Māridīn) which owned Barkūk's suzerainty, and thus came into direct conflict with Egypt.

Barkūk was no valiant swashbuckler, and lived in fear of assassination, but he showed a firm front to the invader. He joined the northern princes—Burhān-ed-dīn of Sinās Kara-Yūsuf the head of the Turkmāns of the Black Belt, Toktāmish, the khān of the Golden Horde, and Bayezid, the 'Othmānli sultan—in a general league of resistance. When Timur sent an embassy to Cairo, ostensibly to open peaceful negotiations, Barkūk, suspecting his motives, executed the envoy. Further, to show his sympathy with the victims of Timur's aggression, he invited the expelled sultan of Baghdad Ahmad the Ghalib, to Cairo, and received him with peculiar honour. In reply to a threatening despatch from Timur, Barkūk used equally haughty language and contemptuously compared the flowery style of the conqueror's secretary to the wringing of a bad fiddle. The army of Egypt mustered in great strength and marched through Damascus to Aleppo and to Bira on the Euphrates, but Timur was then fully engaged in the contest with Toktāmish in Georgia, and the crusade was postponed. The invasion of Syria was averted for the time, and Barkūk, who was well satisfied to see his allies attacked, and stood in far greater dread of the rising power of the 'Othmānli than of Timur, died without crossing swords with the enemy. He was over sixty years of age and had virtually ruled Egypt since 1378, on the whole with sagacity and mildness, despite some barbarous executions. He remitted some of the most onerous taxes, was a lover of learning, and a great builder. His tomb-mosque, with the two domes, in the eastern cemetery outside Cairo, was erected by his son Farāğ (who was also buried there), but the beautiful medresa in the Beyn el-Kāṣreyn, lately restored by M. Herz Bey, belongs to the early years of his reign, and testifies to his taste in art and his zeal for pious instruction.

Of Barkūk's three sons, the eldest, en-Nāṣir Farāğ, succeeded. His mother was a Greek, and his original name was Dulghak, "calamity," because he was born

during the rebellion of Mintāsh, but it was changed to Farag, "deliverance," after Barkūk's victory over the rebels. Farag was only thirteen years old, but he did not long run in leading reins. At the close of 1400 he was in Syria at the head of a great Egyptian army,



Fig. 81.—Enamelled glass lamp of Barkūk in Arab Museum at Cairo.

endeavouring to check the fresh advance of Timūr, who had sacked Aleppo and was threatening Damascus. At first the Egyptians seemed to be driving the invaders back, but the retreat was probably strategic; for when the

Egyptians attacked they were heavily repulsed, and Farag̃, finding that the defeat had bred sedition among his emirs, who naturally desired a more experienced leader at such a crisis, withdrew in haste to Cairo, leaving his army to its fate. Damascus surrendered on terms, but was nevertheless sacked, ruined, and burnt by the ruthless Tatars, and all northern Syria was cruelly devastated. After Timūr's victorious campaign in Asia Minor, and the total defeat of the Ottomanli army at the battle of Angora, Farag̃ consented to the terms demanded by Timūr's envoys, surrendered his prisoners, and even agreed to strike coins in the conqueror's name. No such coins, however, have been discovered, and Timūr never entered or controlled Egypt. He died in February, 1405, whilst Farag̃ was again raising a new army to resist any further demands.

The sultan, however, had lost his credit by these proceedings, and a struggle for power among the leading manlūks, during which he was treated with contumely, and even defeated in battle, ended in his sudden disappearance. For about two months his brother el-Mansūr 'Abd-el-Aziz sat on the throne thus vacated, but by that time Farag̃ had recovered from his panic, and was brought back to power by the emir Yeshbek. The rest of his reign was largely spent in the endeavour to restore order in Syria, which had become the cockpit of rival emirs—one of whom, G'ekem, even went so far as

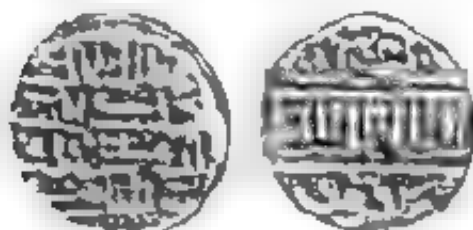


Fig. 82.—Dinār of Farag̃, Cairo, 1407.

to style himself el-Melik el-'Adil—but in spite of seven more or less victorious campaigns, Syria remained in a state of anarchy, and the growing power of the emirs Sheykh el-Mahmūdī and Nawrūz at Damascus more and more threatened the sul-

tan's throne. The seventh campaign ended in his deposition by the caliph. Farag̃ surrendered to Sheykh at Damascus on a promise of his life, but the caliph

and 'Ismā'īl decreed his death, on the ground of his notoriously debauched habits. Farāğ fought his executioners in vain; his body was cast upon a dung heap. ¹⁴¹¹ May 28 He had been a hard drinker, and had slaughtered his mamlūks, and even slain his divorced wife with his own hands. Egypt had groaned under his taxes and his war levies, European pirates had raided Alexandria (1401) Tripolis in Syria (1404), Beyrūt and Sīdōn; and the 'Ottomāns were encroaching on the northern frontier.

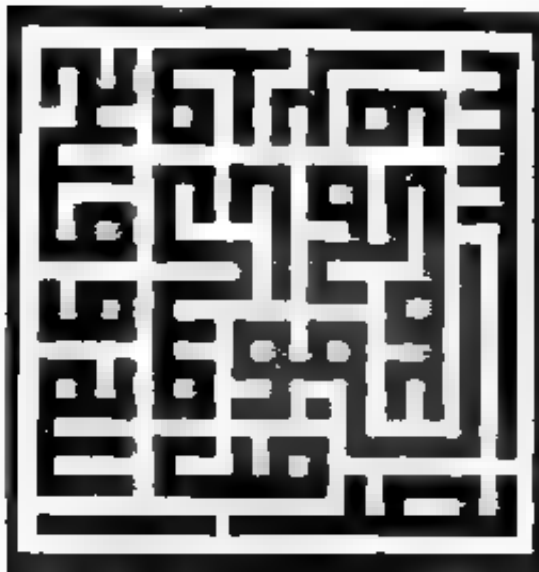


Fig. 83. — Kufic inscription of el-Mu'ayyad.

The next five reigns made little change in the situation. The caliph Musta'in was set up as a mere stop-gap, whilst Sheykh and Nawrūz settled which was the stronger man; and he retired willingly and with relief in less than six months, when Sheykh accepted ^{Nov 6} the throne, with the title of el-Mu'ayyad. The principal events of the new reign were two campaigns on the northern frontier, with a view to reducing the Turkman border states

of Karamān, Dhū-l-Kadr, and Ramadān, to their former condition of vassalage. In 1418 Mu'ayyad marched upon Abulusteyn and Tarsus, and received the submission of the princes—Karamān even issuing coins in the name of the Egyptian sultan—but on his departure the Turkmāns reoccupied the territory he had taken as guarantee; and accordingly in 1419 his son Ibrāhīm marched north, ¹⁴¹⁹ took Kayseriya (Caesarea), Kōniya (Iconium), and Nigda, striking coins in el-Mu'ayyad's name, and appointing governors from among the cadets of the Turkman families; Ereklī and Larenda (now the town

of Karamân), Adhana and Tarsus, were annexed, and Ibrâhîm was welcomed with enthusiasm at Cairo, only to die next year, poisoned (as was rumoured) by his jealous

father. Egypt, however gained little by these successes; Murayyad was unable to control the mamlûks, and the people suffered grievously. The brief reign of his son Alîmad, under the regency

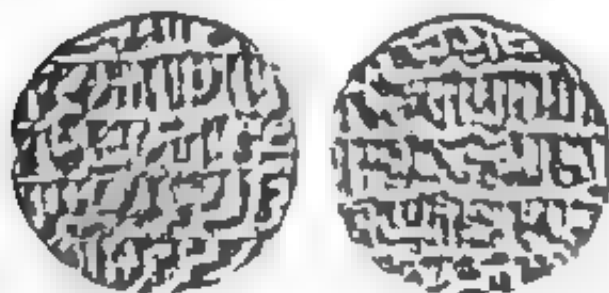


Fig 84.—Dinâr of el-Murayyad, Alexandria, 1415.

of Tatar, and the still briefer reign of Tatar himself, followed by his son Mûhammad for a few months, under the regency of Bars-Bey, ended as usual in the accession of the regent himself.

El-Ashraf Bars-Bey ruled for over sixteen years, and although his government was exceptionally oppressive, and Egypt groaned under his trade monopolies, the excesses of his mamlûks and the scarcity and high prices which naturally accompanied a general state of pillage and insecurity he was not only strong enough to prevent encroachments upon or revolts within his dominions but even achieved an extension of his power by the conquest of Cyprus. The pirates who infested the shores of Egypt and Syria, though not necessarily Cypriotes, used the harbours of Cyprus as their base, and so long as they were sheltered there it was impossible to capture them. In the summer of 1424 a few ships from Bulâk, Damietta, and Tripolis, manned by volunteers, sailed to Cyprus, sacked Limasol (Lemsûn), and returned laden with prisoners and booty. Encouraged by this success, a fleet of forty sail was despatched from Egypt in the following year, Famagusta (Magûsa) was surrendered by its Genoese garrison, Larnaka was taken, as well as Limasol, after a brief resistance, and the Egyptian admiral G'erbâsh brought over a thousand captives and much spoil in

triumph to Cairo.¹ Bars-Bey, however, had intended no such hasty return but a permanent conquest; and in the next year, rejecting the mediation of the emperor of Constantinople, he sent a larger fleet to Cyprus, manned partly by mamluks, but chiefly by voluntary adventurers and Bedawis. The new armament landed at Limasol, which fell in a few days despite its restored fortifications, and the troops marched upon Larnaka, the fleet escorting it along the coast. King James of Lusignan killed the herald sent to summon him to surrender, and advanced by sea and land against the invaders. In an engagement at Cheirokium, the Cypriotes threw away their first advantage, and the mamluks, renewing the battle, took the king and many of his knights prisoners, before the Christian fleet came up. Nikosia fell next, and the island was subdued. Cairo was *en fête* on the return of the conquerors after this brief but decisive campaign. The crown of Cyprus and the royal banners were carried in triumph through the streets, followed by a couple of thousand prisoners. King James himself entered the Citadel and was brought into the presence of the sultan, who was surrounded by a brilliant court and by the ambassadors of the 'Othmānli Porte, the Turkman emirs of Asia Minor, and the representatives of the Arab tribes, the sheriff of Mekka, and the king of Tunis. Bare-headed, and in irons, he kissed the ground before Bars-Bey, and then fainted. Pressed for a ransom, James replied, "I have nothing but my life, which the sultan may deal with as he sees fit." Threatened with death, he showed no fear. The consul of Venice and the European merchants, however, interceded, and guaranteed a ransom of 100,000 *D.* down, and a similar sum after return to Cyprus; and the king was set at liberty, and allowed a house and suitable provision. He rode through the capital on a splendidly caparisoned

¹ To the credit of the sultan it must be recorded that, when the prisoners were publicly sold, he refused to allow parents and children and other near relatives to be separated. The proceeds of the sale went to the state treasury, after each adventurer had been paid 3½ or 7 *D.* The doubtless sum perhaps represents the pay of a horse-soldier.

horse, visited the bazars and churches, and finally left Egypt with the Rhodian ambassadors who had come to make a treaty with the formidable sultan who had dared to lay hands on Cyprus. An annual tribute, the amount of which is doubtful, but which probably did not exceed 5000 to 8000 ducats, was to be paid by the king as vassal of Egypt.

Cyprus continued to be tributary to Egypt to the end of the mamluk dynasty. When John II succeeded James in 1432 he renewed his predecessor's pledges, and a letter from the sultan Ināl to John¹ thanks him for the rejoicings held in Cyprus on the accession of the new ruler of Egypt, and excuses arrears of tribute. On the death of the king in 1458, Ināl supported John's natural son Jacob against his legitimate daughter Charlotte, the wife of Louis of Savoy, and sent an expedition of forty-eight ships to Cyprus to enforce his claim. The expedition was not very successful, the troops suffered from fever, and Jacob was left with a small Egyptian contingent in possession of most of the island, whilst Charlotte held out at Cerines supported by the Genoese and by the knights of Rhodes. For some time G'āni-bek el-Ablāḥ and the Egyptian contingent domineered over the new king, but Jacob finally got rid of them, without, however, repudiating his tribute and subjection to Khāshādān, the new sultan of Egypt.

In this connexion it may be added that G'āḫmaḥ, emulous of his predecessor Bars Bey's triumph in Cyprus, made an attempt in Aug., 1440, to capture Rhodes. Fifteen galleys sailed from Hulaḥ, manned chiefly by volunteers, and after revictualling at Cyprus proceeded to the Asiatic port of el-'Alāyā, and thence to Châteauroux, an island of the knights of St. John, which fell at once. Rhodes, however, warned by spies in Egypt, was prepared for the attack, and the knights' fleet drove away the

¹ *Mss. Latine, Cyprus*, ii. 73. Ināl adds that he has written to the Ottoman sultan Muhammad requesting him to order the Turkish corsairs to respect Cyprus. A present of 400 pieces of stuff for the Egyptian treasury, and twenty five pieces for Ināl—perhaps in lieu of tribute—is also mentioned.

Egyptians with severe loss. The attempt was renewed more than once, and in June, 1444, a considerable armament sailed from Rû âk, carrying 1000 of the sultan's mamlûks, besides 18,000 volunteers and recruits from Tripolis, and succeeded in effecting a landing in Rhodes, but the city itself resisted all efforts to take it, and after forty days' siege the expedition returned to Cairo in October, and peace was signed.¹

The conquest of Cyprus was the sole addition made to the empire of Egypt during the rule of the Circassian mamlûks. It was not the only act that distinguished Bars-Bey's reign from the rest of the dynasty. He devoted special attention to the Indian trade, and contrived to extract more profits from it than any of his predecessors. In 1422 a new departure in the trade took place when a sea-captain from Canut sailed past 'Aden—where the exactions of the Rasûlid kings of the Yemen had made profitable trading impossible—to G'idda, the port of Mekka. Here he found himself as badly cheated as at 'Aden, and accordingly in the following year he sailed past both 'Aden and G'idda, and sold his cargo at Dehlek and Sawâkin. Still dissatisfied with his markets, in the third year he proposed to land at Yenbu', the port of Medina, which was under an Egyptian governor. This official advised the captain to try G'idda once more, and promised to protect him from extortion, and so satisfied was he with this treatment that in 1425 he convoyed fourteen vessels with rich cargoes to G'idda, and in 1426 there came to this port over forty ships from India and Persia, paying duties to the value of 70,000*D.*, most of which no doubt found its way to the Egyptian treasury. Not content with this, the Egyptians sought to increase their profits by sundry duties in addition to the usual tenth, and the trade began to return to 'Aden. Bars-Bey then reverted to the single tax of one tenth on all importations landed at G'idda, but doubled the duty on all goods brought from 'Aden, with a view to recovering the trade. Goods from

¹ Vertot, *Hist. des chev. de Malte*, li. 208 ff. ; Mac Laine, *ibid.* 36, etc.

the Rasûlid territory were even confiscated, and pilgrims had to pay customs duty on what they brought home from Mekka.

There are unfortunately no trustworthy statistics to show the results of this policy. Duties were by no means restricted to the ports of importation. There were a number of government monopolies, and all sugar, pepper, wood, metal-work, etc., had to be brought to the government warehouses, and sold at such prices as the government fixed, subject to the duty. A cargo of pepper that cost 50 *D.* in Cairo was sold at Alexandria to Europeans for 130 *D.* The Venetians remonstrated through their consul, and getting no redress, broke off relations, and ordered a fleet to Alexandria to bring off all their merchants. This brought Bars-Bey to reason, and he accepted better terms to Venice retaining only the pepper monopoly. The kings of Castile and Aragon also remonstrated, and sent cruisers to capture Egyptian

shipping on the Syrian coast. Besides interfering with trade, Bars-Bey meddled with the currency, altering the relations of gold and silver (the latter coinage was exceptionally debased under the mamlûk sultans), putting foreign

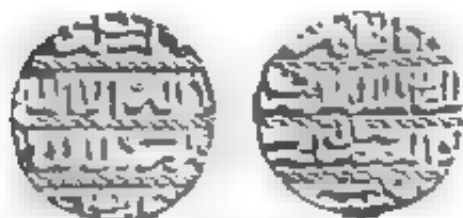


Fig. 85. Dirham of Bars-Bey, Alexandria, 1425.

money out of currency, and then re-admitting it, to the extreme annoyance and loss of the merchants. Under G'akmak we find royal monopolies and heavy duties still in force, but the Indian import duty at Gidda was still one-tenth. Inâl attempted to reform the debased silver coinage, but his changes were not popular. The currency went from bad to worse, and as the mamlûk empire declined, and had to fight for its bare existence, the taxation became more and more onerous.

1438
June 7

Bars-Bey died unregretted. He had been a stern and oppressive ruler, and the outward tranquillity of the realm was no proof of corresponding prosperity. His

conquest of Cyprus had pleased his mamluks, and his monopolies had enriched them; but the people suffered. Egypt and Syria, says Makrizi, became deserts in his reign. One of his last acts was to order the execution of two doctors, because they could not cure him; and this in face of the urgent remonstrances of the emirs, who revered the good men. Yet he bore the character of a devout Muslim, fasted twice a week, besides five special days in the month, and delighted to hear the historian el-Ayni reading to him in Turkish of an evening. His son el-'Aziz Yusuf, aged fourteen, soon gave place to his regent (Nizam-el-mulk) G'akmak—once a slave of Bar-kuk, a lieutenant under Mu'ayyad, a colonel under Tatar, and a high minister under Bars-Bey—whose government was much compared with his predecessors, and whose personal character was exemplary. He observed the laws of the Koran scrupulously, touched no forbidden food, prohibited wine, and suppressed profane music. His orthodoxy induced him to persecute Jews and Christians, and to enforce the old sumptuary distinctions. Unlike Bars-Bey, he was as familiar with Arabic as with Turkish, studied Arabic theology, and was fond of the society of learned men. He died at the age of about eighty, and despite his simple life he left but a trifling fortune for his own son, the child of a Greek mother.

This son, el-Manşur 'Othmân, who was proclaimed sultan during his father's last illness, was deposed in a month and a half, by el-Ashraf Inâl, an easy-going, pliable old man who could hardly write his own name, and whose reign was embittered by the ceaseless rivalries and disorders of the mamluks. His son el-Mu'ayyad Ahmad was totally unequal to his difficult position, and soon abdicated in favour of his governor, the Greek ez-Zahir Khushkadam, whose rule was conspicuous for successful corruption, and whose son ez-Zahir Yel-Bey, known as *el-migân* or 'the lunatic,' was as usual dethroned in a couple of months by a faction of mamluks to make room for their candidate, another elderly Greek, ez-Zahir Timurbugha. The new sultan was a highly cultivated man, versed in philology, history,

theology, and he accepted the throne with much diffidence. His first steps were to set free the imprisoned emirs of various factions, as well as the ex-sultans Ahmad and 'Othmān, and to endeavour to conciliate all parties.

¹⁴⁴⁰
¹⁴⁴⁰
³¹ The result of his good intentions was that he found himself with no friends, and no money to buy them. The mamlūks, losing all patience with so incomprehensible a chief, burst into the citadel, locked up the learned sultan, and set up Kheyr Bek with the title of el-'Adil. Kheyr Bek, however, had only time to plunder his predecessor's harām, when a still more powerful emir, Kāit-Bey, assembled his mamlūks, ousted the usurper, and usurped the throne himself. Timurbūgha, twice deposed on the same day, was treated with the utmost consideration, and permitted to live in freedom and ease at Damietta.

¹⁴⁴⁰
¹⁴⁴⁰ El-Ashraf Kāit-Bey enjoyed the longest reign of any of the mamlūk sultans since en-Nāṣir b. Qalā'ūn. He reigned for nearly twenty-nine years, and was the most successful and warlike of all the Circassian line. He had worked his way up after the manner of the mamlūks.



Fig. 86 — Dirhām of Kāit-Bey,
1468-96.

Bars-Bey had bought him for twenty-five guineas (30*D*); he had been resold to Gakmak, made a lieutenant by Ināl, a captain, and eventually a colonel,¹ by Khūshkadam, until he became

¹ These terms are here used loosely to represent the mamlūk ranks "emir of 10," "emir of 40," and "emir of 1000" horse. The ranks were not merely military but carried with them the distinction of official nobility, like the Russian *schin*. In Kāit-Bey's time there were but fourteen emirs of 1000; in the reign of en-Nāṣir b. Qalā'ūn there had been twenty-four. The pay of the army, on the other hand, had been constantly increasing, from 21,000 *D.* a month under Ma'ayrad, and 18,000 *D.* under Bars-Bey, to 28,000 *D.* under G'akmak, and 46,000 *D.* in the earlier part of Kāit-Bey's reign. This sum, amounting to nearly £300,000 a year, was presently reduced by striking a great many inefficient or mere pensioners off the rolls. The soldiers' rations went, of course, in addition to their pay.



Fig. 87.—Tomb-mosque of Kâit-Bey, 1474.

commander-in-chief under Timurbighâ. He was an expert swordsman, and an adept at the javelin play. His career had given him experience and knowledge of the world: he possessed courage, judgment, insight, energy, and decision. His strong character dominated his mamlûks, who were devoted to him, and overawed competitors. His physical energy was sometimes displayed in flogging the president of the council of state or other high officials with his own arm, with the object of extorting money for the treasury. Such contributions and extraordinary taxation were absolutely necessary for the wars in which he was obliged to engage. Not only was the land taxed to one-ninth of the produce, but an additional tenth (half-a dirhem per ardab of corn) was demanded. Rich Jews and Christians were remorselessly squeezed. There was much barbarous inhumanity, innocent people were scourged, even to the death and the chemist 'Alî b. el-Marshûdî was blinded and deprived of his tongue because he could not turn dross into gold.

The sultan had the reputation of miserliness, yet the list of his public works, not only in Egypt but in Syria and Arabia shows that he spent the revenue on admirable objects. His two mosques at Cairo, and his *wak'as* or caravanserais are among the most exquisite examples of elaborate arabesque ornament applied to the purest Saracenic architecture. He diligently restored and repaired the crumbling monuments of his predecessors, as numerous inscriptions in the mosques, the schools, the Citadel, and other buildings of Cairo abundantly testify. He was a frequent traveller, and journeyed in Syria, to the Euphrates, in Upper and Lower Egypt, besides performing the pilgrimages to Mekka and Jerusalem; and wherever he went he left traces of his progress in good roads, bridges, mosques, schools, fortifications, or other pious or necessary works. No reign, save that of en-Nâsir b. Kâlà'ûn, in the long list of mamlûk sultans, was more prolific in architectural construction or in the minor industries of art. The people suffered for the cost of his many buildings, but a later age has recognized their matchless beauty.

Kāit-Bey, however, had more serious matters to deal with than architectural achievements. The northern frontier of Syria had long been a thorn in the side of the mamlūk sultans, not only on account of the chronic insubordination or revolutions among their Turkmān

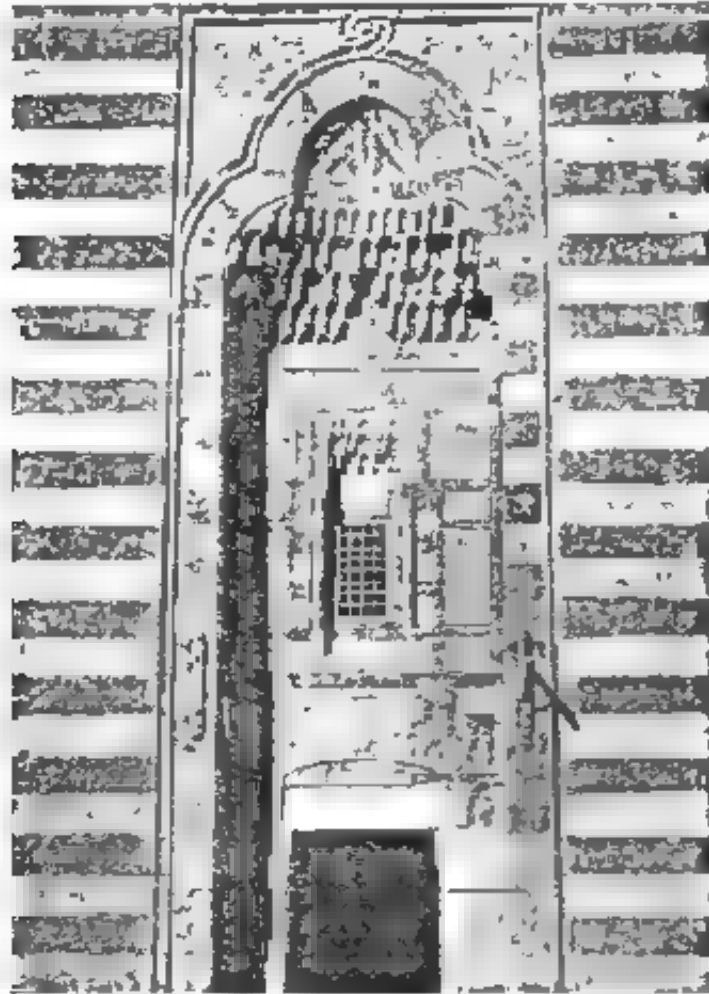


Fig. 53.—Door of mosque of Kāit-Bey, 1474.

vassals, but because these disturbances constantly furnished a pretext for intervention on the part of their most dangerous neighbour the 'Othmānī sultan, whose power was soon to be crowned by the conquest of

Constantinople. Mur'ayyad and his son had more than once reduced the troublesome border states to temporary submission. Bars-Bey had waged war with the Turkmāns of the White Pelt (1433), and even laid siege to their city of Amid in Diyār-Bekr, without success. G'akmak had cultivated the friendship of the border chieftains, married their daughters, and received their homage, at least in form; and his conciliatory policy towards the border Turkmāns as well as towards the 'Othmānlis had been continued by İnāl, who decorated



Fig. 89. —Wek'ala or caravanserai of Kāit-Bey, 1477, near Azhar

Cairo for several days in 1453, when an embassy from Moḥammad II brought the news of the conquest of Constantinople, and who maintained a friendly, if nominal, overlordship over the chief of the White Pelt and the Dhū-l-Kadr prince of Abulasteyn, though he had to send an army (1456-7) to recover Tarsus and Adhana from Ibrāhīm, the ambitious prince of Karamān. The vassalage of the chiefs of the White Pelt, however, became merely ludicrous when Ūzūn Ḥasan adopted the

device of capturing Egyptian cities and fortresses (such as Karkar and Khartbirt), and pretending that he made it all correct by sending the *keys* to Cairo!

There were signs, moreover, that the 'Othmānlis were not anxious for the friendship of Egypt. An embassy from Mohammad II in 1464 pointedly disregarded some of the customary etiquette. In a dispute over the succession to the principality of Karamān, the Porte and Egypt took opposite sides and nearly came to blows, and in another dispute between two brothers for the state of Dhū-l-Kadr—which was technically tributary to Egypt—the Porte secretly supported Shāh Siwār, the candidate whom Egypt opposed, and the mamlūks were defeated with heavy loss at 'Ayn-Tab, and later on near the river G'eyhūn. Eventually, deprived of Turkish support, the rebel was forced to surrender, brought to Cairo, and hanged; but the course of the war had shown the danger of 'Othmānlī intervention. Ūzūn Hasan continued his policy of pretended vassalage to Kāit-Bey, sending him presents of camels and coats of mail and Circassian slaves, but so long as he persisted in keeping the fortresses and giving his suzerain only the keys, his career of aggrandisement gave Kāit-Bey no little anxiety, and the defeat of his "vassal" by Mohammad II of Turkey was looked upon with some satisfaction.



Fig. 90.—Arms of Kāit-Bey.

All these minor contests proved the growing power and interference of the Ottoman Porte, and, if occasion were needed for a rupture, it was certain that it would easily be found in some border dispute. Kāit-Bey went out of his way to invite a quarrel, however, when he welcomed the exiled prince G'ern (Djem), brother and rival of the new sultan of Turkey, Bayezid II, and not only treated him

with royal honours at Cairo, but supplied him with means for a fruitless rising in Asia Minor. When the unlucky exile was made the cat's-paw of the European powers, Kâit-Bey played his part in the ignoble tragedy, and negotiated with the pope for the surrender of so valuable a possession as the heir to the 'Othmānî throne,' until finding it hopeless to extricate such a prize from Christian



Fig 91. — Arms of Kâit-Bey.
from a lamp.

toils, he set about conciliating the offended brother at Constantinople. Bāyezid at first rejected all overtures, and invaded Cilicia, taking Tarsus and Adhana; but, when in several engagements, the mamlûks, under the emir Ezbek, had the better fortune, whilst Matthias Corvinus was threatening in Hungary, and Gem, the source of all these contests, was still alive at Rome, the Porte thought

better of the overtures of peace which Kâit-Bey, weary of these expensive campaigns, renewed. The first envoy, Mamây, was imprisoned; but the second, the emir Gân balât b. Yeshbek, managed to reach Bāyezid's ear, and peace was concluded on the Turks restoring the keys of the fortresses they had seized.

The last years of Kâit-Bey's reign were clouded, not only by the heavy taxation and consequent discontent due to the war, but also by an exceptionally virulent plague, which carried off 12,000 persons in a single day in Cairo, killed a third of the mamlûks, and bereaved the sultan himself of his only wife and a daughter on the same day. The plague was followed by scarcity and

¹ See Thunberg, *Djems Sultan*, ch. 14, and pp. 254, 281, etc.; Weil, v. 345, note.

cattle disease; and to add to the general misery, a fierce contest broke out between two great divisions of the mamlûks. The aged sultan displayed his standard at the Citadel gate, beat to quarters, and quelled the riot for the

moment, but the intrigues and jealousies continued, and at length Kâit-Bey, overcome by years (he was over eighty), and illness and worry, abdicated in favour of his son, and died the day after.

1496
Aug. 7



Fig 92.—Arms of emir Isak,
on his mosque, 1495.

After the brief reigns of Kâit-Bey's cruel and incapable son, en-Nâsir Mohammar (7 Aug., 1496—31 Oct., 1498); of ez-Zâhir Kânûh (2 Nov., 1498—28 June, 1500); el-Ashraf Gân-balât (30 June, 1500—25 Jan., 1501); and

el-'Âdil Tûmân-Bey (Jan. 20 April, 1501), who were all at the mercy of the turbulent mamlûks, el-Ashraf Kânûh el-Ghûrî, a vigorous old man of sixty, once a slave of Kâit-Bey's, was elected to the throne, and quickly proved that age had not abated his natural strength of character. He restored order in the distracted metropolis at once, placed men whom he could trust in office, and set to work to replenish the empty treasury. Never had such drastic measures been known. He levied ten months' taxes at a stroke, laying not only the lands and shops and the other usual sources under contribution, but also the mills, water-wheels, boats, beasts of burden, Jews, Christians, palace servants, and even the *wakf* or pious endowments. He imposed heavy customs duties, and mulcted the next of kin of the greater part of their inheritance. He still further debased the coinage for the benefit of the treasury and to the injury of the merchant. The result was a handsome revenue at the cost of the impoverishment and discontent of the people. El-Ghûrî spent his money on his mamlûks, whose number he increased by purchase; on building

1501
Apr
20

his mosque and college in the street of Cairo named after him the Ghūriya; on improving the pilgrims' road to Mekka, erecting rest-houses and digging wells; on making canals, aqueducts, fortifications at Alexandria and Rosetta, restoring the Citadel of Carro, and generally improving the public works of the country. He also kept great state at court; his horses, jewels, table equipage, and kitchen were sumptuous and splendid; and though he was niggard and heartless enough to cut off the pensions of orphans, he could be princely in his presents to poets and musicians.

Beyond a few military émeutes and Bedawi risings,



Fig. 93 — Inscription of Tīmān-Bey I in Citadel of Carro, 1500.

there were few events to disturb the earlier years of his reign. The chief expeditions were to the Red Sea, where a new and formidable rival had appeared, who threatened to destroy the Indian transit trade which brought so much wealth to Egypt. Vasco da Gama had rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, and the Portuguese had established themselves at Calcut in 1500. The trade which went to Egypt by way of 'Aden and G'dda and Sawākin was being diverted to the Cape route to Europe, and Egyptian ships, or ships trading to the Red Sea, were being seized by the Portuguese.

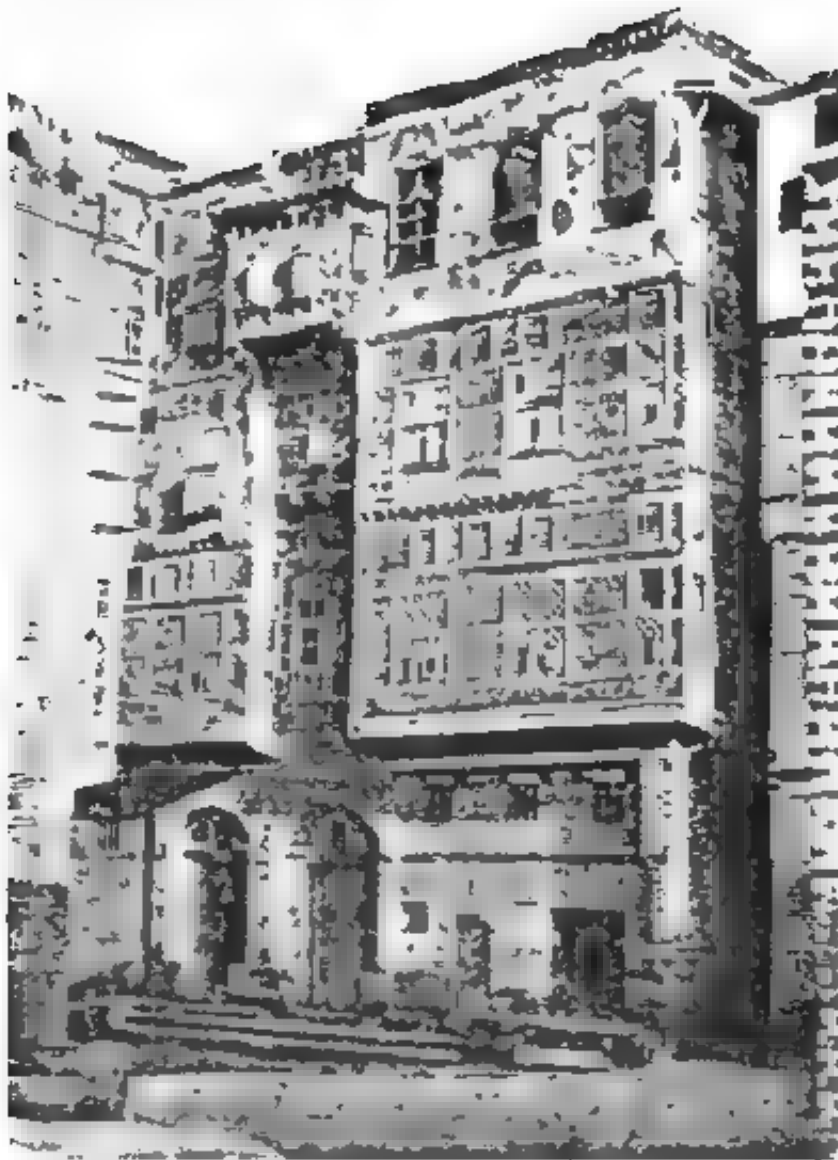


Fig. 94.—Sixteenth century house at Rosetta.

Ghūrī was entreated by the king of Gujārāt and the other Mohimmadan rulers of India and southern Arabia to come to the rescue; and the importance of the menaced trade was an argument quite strong enough to move him. He first tried a diplomatic appeal to the pope to check the outrages of the Spaniards and Portuguese upon the Muslims both west and east, and threatened to destroy the holy places of Palestine if these persecutions and depredations continued. The European

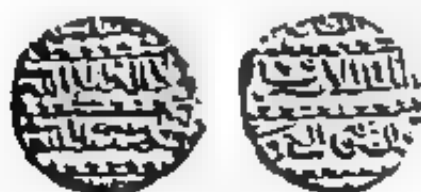


Fig. 95 —Dinār of ʿAl Ghūrī,
Cairo, 1508.

powers rightly judged that this was but an idle threat, and took no notice of it. Ghūrī then built a new fleet in the Red Sea, and his admiral Hoseyn encountered the Portuguese off Chaul, and defeated it, with the loss of the flagship and its admiral,

1502 Lorenzo, son of Almeida. The Portuguese, however, had their revenge at Diu in the following year; Albuquerque attacked Aden in 1513; the Egyptian carrying trade with India was doomed, but the manluk dynasty was doomed too.

1511 So long as Bāyezid II was sultan of Turkey it was possible to temporize; but when his warlike and ambitious son Selim I succeeded, in 1512, the long-impending catastrophe could no longer be averted. After the defeat of Ismail, the first shāh of the new Ṣafavid dynasty of Persia, at the battle of Chaldirān in 1514, Selim turned southwards towards Syria and Egypt.

1514 He seized the border state of Dhū-l-Ḳadr, then tributary to Egypt, and sent its ruler's head to Cairo, although Egypt and Turkey were still at peace with one another. The annexation of Diyār-Bekr brought the 'Othmānlis into close contact with the Egyptian frontiers in Syria and on the Euphrates, and Selim continued to mass troops on the border. His grievances against Ghūrī were trifling: the sultan of Egypt had allowed the enemies of Turkey and even fugitive princes of the 'Othmānlī house to pass through or take

refuge in his territories; he was believed to be in secret communication with shāh Ismā'il of Persia; he had not commanded his vassal of Dhū-l-Ḳadr to support the Turks in their campaign against the Persians. But Selim was not the man to wait for a *fuir casus belli* - he had resolved to conquer Egypt, and no question of right would stand in his way.

Ḳānsūh al-Ghūrī had missed his opportunity: he should have joined forces with shāh Ismā'il in 1514, when the battle of Khaldīrān might have had a different issue. He was over seventy years old, however, and his energies were failing. In May, 1516 too late, he left Cairo at the head of his army. Of the twenty six colonels (or emirs of 1000) of the Egyptian establishment, fifteen accompanied him to Syria, and the number of his personal following of mamlūks is variously estimated at 5000 to 14,000 horsemen. What was the total force

1516
May

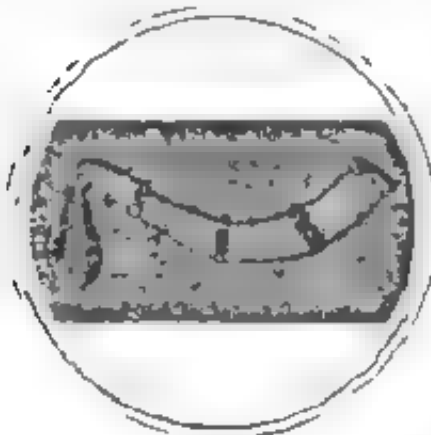


Fig. 96. —Arms of commandant Alqūh, c. 1516.

under his command is not recorded, but it included the levies of Egypt and Syria and the Bedawī tribes. In June he made a triumphal entry into Damascus, and thence marched north to Aleppo. He received two embassies from Selim, assuring him of his goodwill and repeating that the Turks were mustering against Persia, not against Egypt; but Ghūrī was not convinced, and when an embassy he sent to Selim

in reply was grossly and contemptuously outraged by the Turkish sultan, there was no longer any room for doubt as to his intentions. The two armies met on the plain called Marg Dābīk, a little north of Aleppo, on Sunday, the 24th of August, 1516, and despite the bravery of the mamlūks, the Egyptian army suffered a total defeat: the superior numbers and the artillery of the Turks, aided by the jealousy of some of the troops, and the treachery of

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Kheyr Beg, who had been won over by Selim and now deserted with the left wing of the army, after spreading a rumour that Ghūrī was killed, completely routed the Egyptians, and they fled from the field. Their sultan was indeed dead, and they had no leader.

In Cairo, Tūmān-Bey, the viceroy, a slave of Ghūrī's was elected sultan as soon as the news was known of his

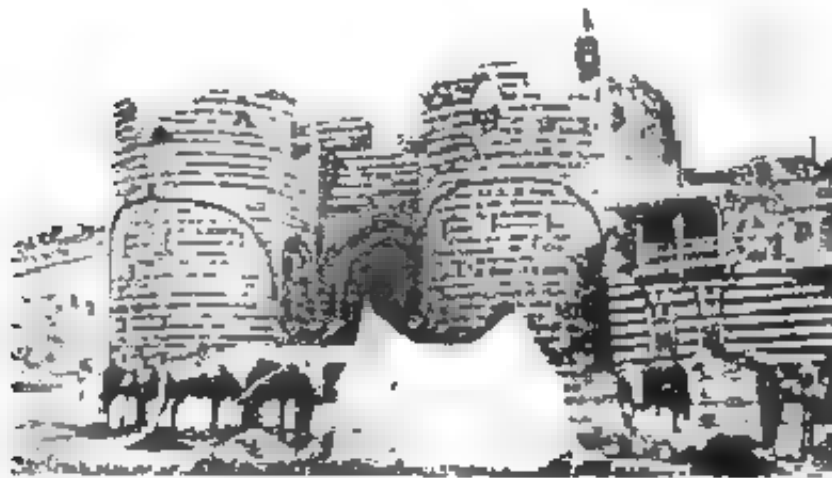


Fig. 97. —Bāh-el-Azab, Gate of the Citadel of Cairo, 15th century.

- 1516 master's death. He accepted the office with reluctance,
 Oct. and only after the sheykh Abū Su'ūd had pledged the
 17 emirs to absolute loyalty. A letter from Selim arrived,
 proposing to recognize him as viceroy of Egypt, if he
 would acknowledge the sultan of Turkey on the coinage
 and in the prayers. Tūmān-Bey was not indisposed to
 accept these terms, but the mamlūk emirs compelled him
 to refuse, and the Turkish envoys were killed. There is
 no doubt that the mass of the Egyptians regarded the
 Ottoman conquest as a certainty not to be resisted.
 1517 The Turks were soon upon them. On 22 Jan. they
 defeated the Egyptian army outside Cairo, and on the
 next day Selim was prayed for in all the mosques of
 Cairo. On the 26th, Selim himself entered Cairo in

state, accompanied by the captive caliph. The brief resistance of the mamluks was overcome; and Tūman-Bey was betrayed, and hanged at the Zawila gate (14 April). The caliph Mutawekkīl, last of the 'Abbasid caliphs of Egypt, was carried off to Constantinople and imprisoned; but after the death of Selīm (Sept., 1520),

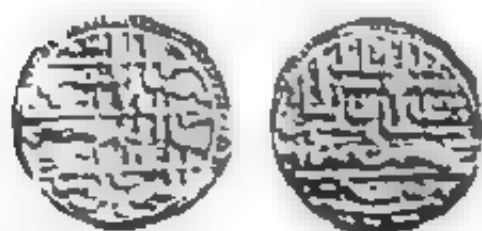


FIG. 98. — Ashraf of sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, Turkey, May 1520.

Süleyman the Great set the caliph free and allowed him to return to Cairo soon afterwards, where he died in 1538, after bequeathing his title and rights to the sultan of Turkey. The legality of the inheritance is repudiated, not only by

the Shī'a, but by the majority of learned Sunnīs, who are aware that a caliph must belong to the Prophet's tribe of Kureysh; but whatever they may be *de jure*, the sultans of Turkey have been *de facto* caliphs of the greater part of orthodox Islam ever since the death of Mutawekkīl.

After the 'Othmānī conquest, Egypt sank into the position of a mere province of the Turkish empire, and was separated from the neighbouring provinces of Syria and Arabia.¹ The traitor Kheyr Bek was the first governor under the new régime. But the power of the mamluks was not extinguished, and as time went on the authority of the Turkish pasha, supported by his janizaries, shrank before the reviving strength of the mamluks, headed by their chief emir, who was known as the sheykh-el-beled, or mayor. One of the sheykh's, 'Alī Bey, in the eighteenth century, supported by a large force of valiant mamluks, and by the sympathy of the population, expelled the Turkish pasha, proclaimed the independence of Egypt (1768), subdued part of Arabia, and attempted to annex Syria. He was, however, betrayed, defeated,

¹ The history of Egypt under the 'Othmānī Turks, and its development under the Khedives guided by French and latterly English influence, form a subject for a separate volume.

and killed by his favoured general Mohammad Abū-Dhahab (1772). The leading mamlūks fought over the government of Egypt, subject, more or less, to the Porte, until Napoleon's invasion and victory at the battle of Embāba or "the Pyramids" (July 21, 1798)

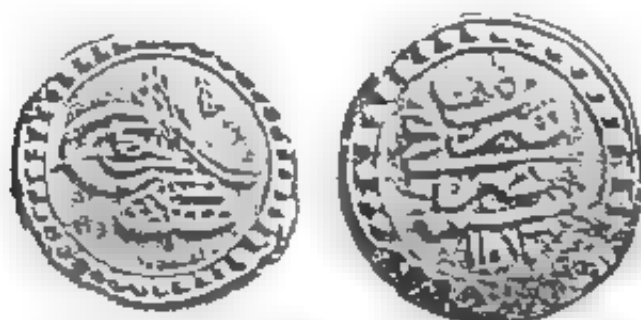


Fig. 99.—Yigirmelik of 'Alī Bey, Meṣr, 1769.

converted Egypt for three years into a province of France. The British naval victory of the Nile, fought in the bay of Abū-kīr (Aug. 1, 1798) and the battle of



Fig. 100.—The Citadel of Cairo in 1859.

Alexandria (March 21, 1801), forced the French to evacuate the country (Sept.), and the authority of the Porte was restored. The perpetual jealousies of the mamlûks and their contests with the Turkish pasha were brought to an end when Mohammad 'Ali expelled the pasha (1805), massacred the leading mamlûks (1805 and 1811), and established the dynasty of viceroys or khedives which is still upon the throne of Egypt.

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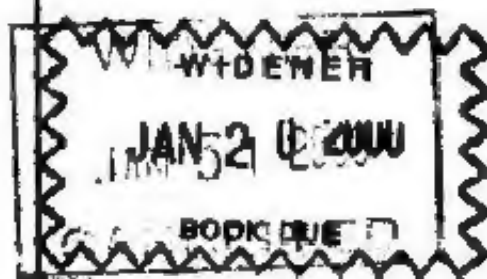
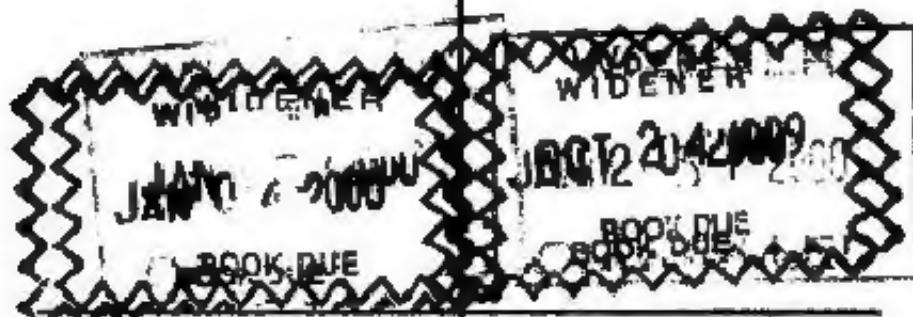


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